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ABSTRACT

The object of the study is to observe and describe the acculturation patterns of some 250 immigrants to the United States from Turkey, Russian Old Believers, in their attempt to make a rapid transition from a society rooted in seventeenth century traditions to the industrialized society of the modern world with special reference to family organization and education. The research design follows the holistic approach used in cultural anthropology and focuses on the relation of acculturation to education as a result of the acceptance of new values which are at variance with preexisting cultural orientations. Major sections treat social patterns, history and cultural origins of the Old Believers, religion and religious organization, economic patterns, and areas of culture contact and change. A list of references is included. (Author/RL)

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RADICAL ACCULTURATION PATTERNS IN A TRADITIONAL
IMMIGRANT GROUP

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PREFACE

This project was the work of two persons: Dr. John A. Hostetler, Professor of Sociology and Anthropology of Temple University, who served as Project Director, and Martha Bahniuk Clymer, graduate student in the Department of Anthropology at Temple University.

The Project Director initiated and made application for the grant, prepared the required progress reports, facilitated equipment, salary, guidance and tutorship for the student-field worker, and prepared this final report from text and data supplied by the student. The Project Director is responsible for light editing, abridgments, and for arranging the material in a format required by OE specifications.

Martha Bahniuk Clymer was uniquely qualified by background and interests to engage in this research project. She and her husband Wesley Clymer spent several months in resident field work among the Old Believers. She is the author of the text in this report. The operative period of the contract was from October 7, 1968 to January 31, 1970.

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SUMMARY

Background: In 1963 Robert Kennedy, Attorney General of the United States, authorized the admission of a group of two hundred and fifty Old Believer immigrants from Turkey to the United States. There were some sixty families with a total of 124 children under the age of twelve in the 250 member group. The migration of these Russian Old Believers was one of the speediest known. The transportation was arranged by the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration and the task of re-settlement was turned over to the Tolstoy Foundation.

The group arrived at Idlewild Airport on June 5, 1963, and were taken to two initial resettlement locations. Forty-nine of the Old Believers from Istanbul and Lake Manyas belonged to the "Popovtzy" division of the group which recognizes the clergy and liturgy of the Russian Orthodox Church. This group was located at the Tolstoy Foundation where they could attend the Orthodox church and where they could be employed as builders, painters, and manual workers at the Tolstoy Foundation farm at Valley Cottage, New York. Others belonged to the "Bezpopovtzy" (the priestless) group who had no clergy and did not recognize the clergy of the Russian Orthodox Church. The majority of the men in this group were mainly fishermen and farmers, and with the volunteer aid offered by the Mennonite Central Committee, temporary housing in migrant camps was prepared at Seabrook Farms in New Jersey in a farming area.

Before leaving Turkey, the group had been informed by the Tolstoy Foundation's representative that they would have to take much time to orient themselves to a new country, become self supporting, learn the English language, and study entirely new farming methods before purchasing land for settlement. The group felt a close similarity to the Amish Mennonites, especially in styles of dress, beards, and meeting-houses, but they could not communicate with them on account of the language barrier. The New Jersey groups soon dispersed from their original locations, resulting in a loss of solidarity.

Family heads were forced to make radical changes in their occupations causing great social changes to which they were not accustomed. Their ability to work and acquire incomes, greater than ever before, permitted them to settle in houses rather than in migrant camps. They began to travel, discover other Russian-speaking American communities, and to move to other places in the United States.

The research problem: The objective of the study was to observe and describe the acculturation patterns of the Old Believers in their attempt to make a rapid transition from a society rooted in seventeenth century traditions to the industrialized society of the modern world with special reference to family organization and education. The anthropological guidelines for the study are based upon the works of Herskovits, Linton, Redfield, Bohannan and Plog, Foster and others. The research design follows the holistic approach used in cultural anthropology. A basic problem considered is the relation of acculturation to education as a result of the acceptance of new values which are at variance with pre-existing cultural orientations.

Methods: Aside from bibliographical and historical research the method was that of travel to the communities of Old Believers and participant observation. Most now live in or near Woodburn, Oregon. Many of the Turkish immigrants moved to Oregon where they live near other Old Believers who have immigrated to the United States from Brazil. Some of the Brazilian Old Believers have moved to a location eighteen miles outside of Homer, Alaska. Interviews were conducted with school teachers, school administrators, health officials, public officials, and members of the Russian-speaking American communities. The persons who were engaged in the field work took up residence in the Oregon community of Old Believers, and identified with members of the community as much as possible in language, dress and customs, religious observance, work, visiting patterns, and community problems. Interviews were conducted in an informal rather than a formal manner with members of the group from a previously constructed schedule covering the variables under investigation: ideology, subsistence patterns, family organization, child rearing patterns, and the relation of these to education.

Findings:

(1) There was a period of disequilibrium which led to a withdrawal by the Old Believers from conflict situations by migration and an eventual return to equilibrium within their own culture. When the Old Believers first arrived in the United States, they were forced to conform to the American customs. They did not have any chance to reject or accept new values willingly, and their own values were threatened, thereby creating a period of disequilibrium. To reassert their values and attain a feeling of equilibrium, the Old Believers withdrew from the American culture by migrating to Oregon where they set themselves up as a separate colony. There they restored their original values and felt freer to accept those values from the American culture which fit most easily with their cultural pattern and also maintained the equilibrium of the group. Further fears of losing their religion and culture has led some of the Brazilian Old Believers to another withdrawal to more remote and isolated areas in Canada and Alaska.

(2) The area in which old values are retained most is in religion. Knowledge of certain religious customs known only to the group members acts as a shield or boundary from outsiders. Examples of in-group boundaries or "boundary-maintaining mechanisms" used by the Old Believers are: ritual initiations into the group such as baptism; cleansing ceremonies to reintroduce an in-group member into his society after absence takes place in the form of a prayer said over the person by the elder; territorial isolation, such as the Turkish village; self-defining concepts, such as Old Believer ethnocentrism, and their high regard for their native language and dress. (Vogt and Watson)

(3) In economics, the Old Believers have acculturated the most. The group has accepted many of the tangibles and economics of the American culture. Economic pressures send the Old Believers out into the world as wage earning competitors exposing themselves to many American ideas. Religious values are threatened by economic pressures to work even on religious holidays. American products are more and

more a lure to the people. A new found prosperity conflicts sharply with the simpler times and religious life they had in Turkey and other places. Their greater financial security has weakened ties among family members who were once very much dependent upon the help of one another. Originally it was the plan of most to become farmers, but now the men are finding factory work more desirable because of the steady income, easier work, higher salary and independence from erratic weather conditions. This change in occupation by many has resulted in a cleavage between the older generation which favors farming and the young who prefer factory work. The desire of individuals to attain different occupational levels in a "closed" society also disrupts the established values and goals of the group.

(4) Public education is a potent agent of change affecting all other institutions in the Old Believer group. It teaches the modern American way of life to the pliable young and conflicts with the religious holidays of the group. Some of the Old Believers want to continue school and get better jobs, but the group places limitations on the occupational choices of its members. Because secular, public education is in disfavor, positions requiring a high school diploma are closed to them. When the individual realizes that he cannot fully participate in our complex society as a result of his lack of training a period of disillusionment ensues. The Old Believer may be acculturated externally and able to take advantage of the high standard of living, but since his group has not permitted the integration of educational values with those of modern Americans, the members are subjected to severe psychological adjustments.

(5) Children are caught in the middle of the conflict between the old and new ways and feel the pressures most. They are among the first to accept the ways of the American culture and reject their own. In rejecting some of the customs and traditions of their own culture, inevitably they deny their religion; thus, they are left in a value vacuum. The old values have not been replaced by substantial new values; instead, those Old Believers who have acculturated the most have adopted a materialistic standard and an imitation of some of the "worst" of American culture. At this stage of the acculturation process, they usually face loneliness and disillusionment with the American culture realizing that it will be almost impossible for them to make it outside of the group. Some completely abandon the old for the new and break away from the colony while others return to the community after failing to adjust to life outside the group.

(6) The disruptive influence of acculturation is most apparent in the family. The bilingualism and greater familiarity with the American culture of the young contrasts with the ignorance of English on the part of the adults and results in a revision of the family structure. Children are suddenly occupying a superior position in the family, upsetting the equilibrium of the family and reducing the authority of the adults over the young. The bridge between the generations is becoming increasingly wider as the old try to hold on to a way of life which the young have already begun to reject. This break in strong family relationships due to the lack of understanding between parents and children seriously endangers the retention of Old Believer values.

(7) The exodus to Canada and Alaska may be the only chance for these people to retain their cultural identity. If all the Brazilians move to Canada and Alaska, where they will live in isolated conditions, the pressures toward acculturation will be less. But it will be difficult to satisfy the young after they have experienced so many aspects of American culture. The Turkish group appears to be more settled and will probably stay in Oregon, and thus be more vulnerable to change.

I. INTRODUCTION

The Anthropological Problem and Research Design:

The aim of the study is to observe and describe the acculturation patterns of the Old Believers which the group has experienced in attempting to make the rapid transition from a society rooted in seventeenth century traditions to the industrialized society of the twentieth century. By "acculturation" is meant "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups." (Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits 1936) The theoretical framework for this investigation is based on the works of Herskovits (1955, 1958), Bohannan and Plog (1967), Foster (1962), and others.

The acculturation process involves several different types of contact between people which eventually leads to cultural interchange. The types of contact are:

- 1) contacts between groups of equal or different population sizes;
- 2) contacts between groups of unequal degrees of complexity in material or non-material aspects of culture, or both;
- 3) contacts when one group having one way of life comes into the habitat of another, or where the receiving group achieves its contact with the new culture in a new habitat.

In regard to the Old Believers, all three types of contact are relevant. What are the changes in the value orientations of the Old Believers as a result of their contact with the American culture? Specifically, I will try to decide whether there have been shifts in the value orientation in the institution of the family during their acculturation in the United States. The problem is to ascertain whether the family has retained its old values, accepted new values, or any partial combination of the two possibilities. Ultimately, the forces influencing any changes that might be occurring in the institutional patterns will be hopefully delineated. Although the family is the specific institution studied in this project my observations are not limited to the family.

A basic problem to be considered in relation to the acculturation process involves the conflict produced within the culture, if any, as a result of the acceptance of new values which are at variance with pre-existing ones or the conflict produced by clinging to old values. The research design follows the holistic approach used in cultural anthropology. Thus the investigation sets out to ascertain the ideology of the group, the institutional patterns of the family, education, child rearing, economics and religion, and where the data permit to note the changes in terms of values rejected, values accepted

and values intensified since the group has arrived in the United States.

Location and Size of the Group:

Most Old Believers are now located in or near Woodburn, Oregon. The Brazilian Old Believers live in the town itself or on the outskirts or in the surrounding small villages of Saint Paul, Gervais and Hubbard. Some Brazilian Old Believers have moved to a location eighteen miles outside of Homer, Alaska. Others are planning to move to the western provinces of Canada. The Turkish Old Believers are mainly located in a community on Bethlehem Street about two miles south of Woodburn. Others are located in migrant quarters near Mount Angel, Oregon. Some individuals are scattered about the country in such places as Portland, Oregon, Lakewood, New Jersey and New York City.

The Turkish village consists of about thirty five families, although new families are moving in all the time. Another fifteen families of Turkish Old Believers reside temporarily in migrant housing. A reported 444 Old Believers lived in Brazil, most of whom are now living in the Woodburn area.

Methodology:

The project was initiated by a historical study of the group, tracing its past through the various historical eras, supplemented by newspaper articles and unpublished reports of the present day Old Believers. Information was obtained from the Tolstoy Foundation in New York City an agency which had assisted in the problems of immigration. The investigation was directed by John A. Hostetler, Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, of Temple University. The field work and the report was written by Martha Bahniuk Clymer. I was assisted in the field work by my husband Wesley Clymer during the summer of 1969.

The field work involved visits to New Jersey and a June through September stay in Oregon. The purpose of the field work was to observe the acculturation patterns of the Old Believers at first hand. There was a choice of making a "scientific," statistical analysis or a subjective, participant observer study. The first method had several drawbacks: (a) the Old Believer suspicion of outsiders and questionnaires, and (b) the language difference which made understanding and interpretation of questions and answers difficult.

The subjective, participant-observer approach had the disadvantage of being less structured, but had the asset of being able to characterize the atmosphere of the people and the community in a more comprehensive fashion. Another difficulty was that the study had to be made without knowledge on the part of the people that they were being studied and, thus, questions could not be asked automatically.

Other difficulties were not strictly the result of the methodology. The main problem was the language barrier which this writer tried to bridge by studying Russian before the field work, but the isolation of the Old Believers over several centuries created a dialect that was difficult to understand. The second greatest difficulty was the

xenophobia of the Old Believers, which has helped minimize the influence of outsiders. Only after weeks of standing through night long services was some rapport established and acceptance into various homes gained. Another problem was that it was easiest to establish contact with the most Americanized Old Believers, but then I was identified with this group by the others, and a special effort to dissociate myself from this group was made to gain the acceptance of a wider cross-section. Still another problem, especially in studying the Turkish Old Believers was that their settlement was located about two miles outside the town of Woodburn, Oregon in seclusion from American neighbors, thus making casual entry into the area difficult. Another difficulty was that most were busy during the summer in farm work and had little time for socializing, especially with long church services monopolizing most of their time off.

The approach of the participant observer was broken down into the following steps: (a) I sought to gain a speaking acquaintance with the members of the group. Conformity in the matter of dress and abstinence from such obvious sins from their point of view as smoking were essential in gaining acceptance. (b) I slowly developed friendship and trust through attendance at religious observances, sincere interest in their religion and assisting in teaching English to some members of the group at Mt. Angel College evening school. (c) I further broadened the number of contacts through working in each area, visiting at homes and encouraging reciprocal visitations to my house. (d) I became concerned about community problems and was present at the Human Relations Commission Meeting and zoning meetings, providing occasional transportation, etc. (e) Interviews were conducted with school teachers and administrators, health officials, public officials, interested Russian Americans and people in the community.

The result of these techniques was a gradual amelioration of the suspicion which they harbored for most outsiders. Many forthright and effusive conversations took place once trust had been established that otherwise would not have been possible. The climax of the process of gaining their acceptance was reached near the end of the summer when the elder asked me to join the community and live in the village after accepting the rebaptism into their religion.

One of the dangers I encountered was the temptation to engage in action anthropology which would involve tampering with the acculturation process probably on the side of hastening their Americanization. Action anthropology was slightly involved in the English tutoring undertaken at the evening school, but those studying English were the most Americanized anyway.

In conclusion, I found that it was very difficult to remain objective when viewing the acculturation problems and to refrain from seeking to impose my cultural values on the group.

II. HISTORY AND CULTURAL ORIGINS

Genesis of the Old Believers:

The historical explanation of the genesis of the Old Believers goes back to the split between the Orthodox and Old Believers in the seventeenth century. The Old Believers refused to change their religious books or rituals in 1666 when Patriarch Nikon of the Orthodox Church tried to introduce corrections and revisions. The Old Believers were not the group that broke away, but continued to follow the old traditions and rituals while the Orthodox Church changed. Some of the differences arose over: (1) how many fingers one should use to make the sign of the cross, (2) the spelling of 'Jesus', (3) whether the 'Alleluia' should be sung twice or three times, (4) the retention or exclusion of certain words in the creed, (5) the number of hosts used in the liturgy and (6) whether the priest should walk around the altar with or against the sun (Grunwald 1962: 154).

Seemingly insignificant in themselves, they were important because the ritual actually symbolically embodied certain theological ideas, i.e., the Old Believers made the sign of the cross with two fingers with the second finger bent. The bent finger symbolized Christ's descent to earth where he became man; the other finger represented Christ's divine power, thereby acknowledging the two sides of Christ. The Synod of 1666 declared the Old Believer ritual using two fingers to be heretical, and, thus, the Old Believers contended that heresy was also attributed to the ideas behind the ritual. They cited the many icons to support their position in which two fingers were used by the saints and Christ. They, too, must have been in the heresy. (Kravchinskii 1894: 408).

Just one hundred years before at the Synod of 1551, it was decreed, "If anyone does not bestow his blessing with two fingers as Christ did, or does not make the sign of the cross, let him be accursed." Then Nikon in the next century in front of a large congregation, including the Tsar, denounced the two finger sign of the cross "as indicative of Armenian heresy." Armenians were considered as heretics of the worst kind, not even considered by some to be Christians at all. (Sects, Russian, Unidentified Source: 336).

The matter of the sign of the cross was so important because it was "the only act by which the uncared for masses could manifest their religion and take part in worship." One writer among the Old Believers said it was "the whole secret of the faith" (Sects, Russian, Unidentified Source: 335).

The Old Believers also disputed with Nikon over his revision of the liturgical texts which had accumulated many errors during the many times they were copied from the Greek. For example, a difference in the spelling of "Jesus" became a doctrinal dispute. Nikon also changed the eighth article of the creed to eliminate the word "true" in "the true Lord and Giver of Life" (Hastings 1918:871).

The Old Believers rejected the changes in the church service because "a strict observance of doctrine and rite was a prerequisite for salvation and attainment of the Kingdom of God.... They regarded any modification of the church service as a sin which obstructed the way to salvation" (Zenkousky, n.d.: 37-57).

Furthermore, Nikon was tactless and ruthless in his substitution of the Greek for Russian customs and, thus, alienated many more people by his manner. The people were also very suspicious of any western influence since they identified it with Roman Catholicism. Even Greeks were regarded as betrayers of Orthodoxy. Also, the whole idea of change in any form was not welcomed by the people who looked upon everything in their religion as sacred (Spinka 1962:230).

The monks in the Solvetski Monastery on the White Sea formed the center of the Old Believer opposition to the new rites established by the Council of 1666. The Tsar refused their request to continue the old rites, excommunicated them and confiscated the goods from the monastery. After being under siege from the government for eight years (1568-1676), their internal quarrels eventually led to their downfall, all the monks being executed and replaced by monks from Moscow (Conybeare 1921:80-3).

Archpriest Avvakum was also a strong leader of opposition to Nikonian reform. He wrote a protest against the new innovations and refused to change the old religious forms. Because of his resistance, he was imprisoned, flogged and exiled. He and his family spent ten years in Siberia. Avvakum continued to oppose the reforms mainly by preaching, and when he could not preach, he wrote. Avvakum was recalled to Moscow where he was tortured and interrogated in monastery prisons for nearly a year. Finally, he was condemned and exiled to Putozersk on the Asiatic coast where he was burned at the stake in April, 1682 (Mirsky 1963:13).

The Old Believers feared that the end of the world was coming very soon. In 1668 fields were neglected; people prayed and fasted and prepared for the end. They also feared the appearance of the anti-Christ; some indeed identified him with the Tsar, while others felt he had become manifest in an invisible form. The Tsar instituted persecution of the Old Believers since they did not pray for the Tsar (Cherniavsky 1966:23).

In 1681 the Orthodox Church denounced the Old Believers again in a council of Russian clergy. The Tsar was urged to be stern with them, and as a result, troops were sent out against them. "Their tongues were cut out; they were whipped to death; their property was confiscated; they were imprisoned; their heads were beaten, and some of them were burned alive" (Grunwald 156). "Hundreds, if not thousands, of the fanatical Old Believers hurled themselves onto their burning pyres they themselves had built at the approach of the imperial police. Mussorgsky immortalized their sacrifices in his opera Khovantschina" (Cherniavsky: 20).

In 1684, the Tsar declared the movement political and made it a

secular, state crime to belong to the schismatics with punishment of death for non-repentance. Many of the Old Believers fled into Poland, Prussia, Sweden, Austria, Turkey and Siberia. "The retreat of the most adamant Old Believers to the wildernesses of northern Russia was not due only to persecution by the authorities, but also to the dissenters' own desire to avoid all contact with the world, for it, in their eyes, had become contaminated by the presence of the anti-Christ and the spread of the Nikonian heresies, and was forever lost for the true Orthodox faith" (Zenkovsky, n.d.:51). In 1698, five days before the expected appearance of the anti-Christ, a group of Old Believer soldiers tried to bar Tsar Peter from the capital, thinking that he was the anti-Christ.

Under Catherine II, Paul and Alexander I, the Old Believers enjoyed a period of toleration, and many, especially those who had grown rich in the manufacture of cloth, in trade and in money lending, grew more moderate in their attitude toward the government (Curtiss 1940:132).

Under Nicholas I, however, the situation of the Old Believers changed for the worse. The term "Raskolnik" or "schismatics" was revived and given derogatory connotations of "deserter." Their religious property was confiscated and formation of monastic institutions was forbidden (Curtiss: 132).

The Old Believers found themselves in another dilemma because they did not accept the Nikonian clergy, and as their priests grew old and died, there were not enough ordained priests to serve the laity. The result was another schism into two groups, the Popovtsy and Bezpopovtsy. At first both refused to accept any priests ordained by Nikon or his successors. The Popovtsy were concerned with maintaining the priesthood, searching around the world to find an authentic bishop to ordain new priests.

In 1846 the Popovtsy obtained the Greek Metropolitan Ambrose, Bishop of Bosnia, who had been deposed by the Patriarch of Constantinople, as their spiritual head. But he was not accepted by everyone, and a small body of Old Believers refused to accept the new priests, resorting to hiring fugitive priests from the Orthodox clergy.

The Bezpopovtsy, or priestless ones, were so used to going without a Bishop that they regarded Ambrose as "...an unjustifiable innovation and a digression from the tradition of the fathers." Some did not accept him because the influential lay leaders did not want to renounce the management of church affairs (Adeney 1908:446). They also felt that "there was no true apostolic succession left in the world, no valid priesthood at all." They could not accept the validity of the renegade Orthodox priests "who had been in the degenerate church, and who were tainted by their usage of the corrected service books" (Miliukov, 1942:53).

Even without a priest, however, they were able to follow the liturgy by eliminating those parts of the service conducted by the priest. Instead of a priest, they elected a deacon who, with the assistance of a church elder recited all the prayers and read the Gospels and other religious books. (Adeney: 446).

They continued to follow the same sacraments as before; however, in renouncing the priesthood, there was no competent person to administer the sacraments, the only exception being baptism which could be performed by a layman. People confessed to each other instead of to a priest, and when no Eucharist was available, they resorted to taking Holy Communion in the form of raisins. (Miliukov 1942:61-2).

The most difficult problem for the Bezpopovtsy was the sacrament of marriage which was at first thought impossible to administer without a priest, and, thus, controversy raged for years over the question. Finally, it was decided that the sacrament came from God and not through the priest, who was only a witness, and, thus, the priest was not absolutely essential (Struve 1968:223).

One of the earliest hermit settlements which grew to be the center of the Bezpopovtsy were the "Shore Dwellers" on the Vyg Sea under the leadership of the Denisov Brothers who formed business connections with Old Believers in other parts of Russia to help improve the poor living conditions in St. Petersburg and elsewhere. Andrew Denisov helped supervise the clearing of the woods, building of dwellings, and widened the intellectual horizon of the monks. He went to Kiev for one year in the guise of a trader and studied theology, rhetoric and logic at Kiev Academy (Miliukov 1942:61 and 65). Later, he had new libraries built and established schools for the education of missionaries and others (Conybeare 1921:156). He provided the first systematic defense of the Old Belief in his "Answers from Beside the Sea" (Billington 1966:193).

Dissension arose when his successor decided to comply with the state and pray for the Tsar. The stubborn workmen and servants in the monastery burnt themselves rather than pray for the Tsar (Miliukov 1942:66).

The other Bezpopovtsy, established villages in these areas on a more or less communal basis, and with hard work and cooperation they prospered. Their accomplishments as pioneers and colonizers were extraordinary (Hecker 1933:61).

Many of the Old Believers endured suffering and martyrdom, while many were extremely prosperous. They maintained important positions in the business world. They lived exemplary lives and always met their commitments. Banks gave them unlimited credit (Grunwald: 1962:157) under the lenient rule of Catherine II that the Old Believers were allowed to settle in Moscow. Wealthy Old Believers endowed two cemeteries near Moscow, one for the Popovtsy and one for the Bezpopovtsy, constructing on the grounds hospitals, chapels and monastic buildings (Grunwald 1962:158).

It was not until the first revolutionary movement in 1905 that the Old Believers were allowed to establish parishes and schools, ring their bells and organize processions. But still their clergy were not officially recognized, and they received severe legal penalties. Only the revolution of 1917 gave back, for a time, their complete religious liberty (Grunwald 1962:157).

The Bolsheviks wanted to enlist the support of the Old Believers to help them organize their communes, with the Old Believers as laborers, but these attempts met with little response. Most of the Old Believers had their community group since they had migrated together in large family units and, thus, were able to preserve their community endogamy (Dunn 1964:473).

However, now in Russia, "the strict isolation of the Old Believer populations - which has produced a distinctive physical type - is breaking down under conditions of increasingly mixed social contact. Marriages between Old Believers and Orthodox, formerly strictly forbidden, now take place. Children are now being sent to school, a practice once frowned upon...." (Dunn 1964:476).

Several conclusions might be drawn from the history of the Old Believers. (1) Religion has always dominated their lives. (2) They have resisted change whether in religion or other areas as religion has sanctified their way of life. (3) They have been physically mobile, especially when their religion or life style has been threatened. Their only important belongings have been their icons and religious books. (4) They have shown an insularity, regarding the rest of the world as corrupt and ascribing to its leaders the role of anti-Christ. All these factors can be found manifest in the Old Believers today.

Old Believer Wanderings:

The Old Believers usually identify the various groups by the name of the place in which they last lived, one group going by the title of "Brazilians" and further subdividing themselves by designation of localities in Manchuria and China where they lived before going to Brazil, Harbin and Sinkiang. The other main group under consideration in this study calls itself "Turkish Old Believers," referring to their settlement in Turkey. It should be remembered, however, that each group came originally from Russia, and due to lack of intermarriage with any native populations in other lands, they still retain their basic Russian ethos.

Brazilian Group:

The Brazilian group originally came from such places in Russia as Spassk, Tomsk, Semipalatinsk, and the Lake Baikal region of Siberia. At the time of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 some of the Old Believers followed the White Russian Army into exile in China. Others left Russia in the late 1920's when the anti-religious pressures resulting from the Revolution of 1917 forced them to flee across the southern Russian border. Some of the Old Believers set up colonies in the Sinkiang province of China in the very northern corner of the Altai Mountains where they frequently crossed the border into Russia, while others settled in the city of Harbin in Manchuria.

When communists conquered the Chinese mainland in 1949, the Sinkiang Old Believer group were subjected to public ridicule, and much of their land was confiscated (Marks 1966:n.p.). They decided to return to Russia, hoping life there would be better. However, once in Russia, they found that communism was even worse there than in China, but were

obliged to remain in Russia for a few months. After some time about one hundred families planned to escape from Russia and went into hiding. They hired a man to take them by truck to China for a fee of \$7 million, a figure somehow confused in translation or reflecting inflation conditions. It snowed as they fled, and people froze or were sick while sitting on top of the truck. In the middle of the trip, the hired man threatened to take the people back to Russia if they didn't pay him \$11 million, but they agreed to give him the extra money. When their journey ended in China, all dismounted from the truck and ran for their lives. They eventually bought train tickets from Shanghai to Hong Kong. On the train, the children wore masks over their faces and marked their eyebrows like Chinese so they would not be recognized as Russians and be sent back to Russia. However, some people were spotted as Russians and sent back to Russia for five years imprisonment. Many of them died in prison, and those who lived were released after five years but remained in Russia.

Not everyone from Sinkiang, China escaped by truck; some had to walk across the whole of China. For example, one family which had 50,000 gold rubles refused to make loans to the other families so that they all could buy tickets to Hong Kong; the families promising to repay every cent. Shortly thereafter, the communists took away all of the rich family's money, thereby forcing them to walk most of the way across China, too, while being railed at by the other Old Believers for the hardships the group had to endure.

One instance during their escape from China was recalled by a young boy who watched his mother cling to his dead brother and had to drag the mother from her child. Many others also died during the trip.

In 1950, eighteen men walked all the way across China from north to south into Tibet, crossing the mountains into India. In reprisal, eighteen other Old Believer men were put in prison in China for eighteen years. The last of these prisoners was released from prison last year, whereas many died when a building in which they lived collapsed at the prison mine.

The colony of Old Believers from Harbin had similar experiences to the group from Sinkiang, fleeing from China when the Chinese revolution threatened them. They fled first to Vladivostok, where they attempted to take a boat to Korea, but because of a storm, they were forced to land and returned to Harbin. From there they trucked overland to Hong Kong. Here they met the group from Sinkiang for the first time, not knowing of their existence before.

In Hong Kong the World Council of Churches arranged for their evacuation to Curitiba, Brazil, near Sao Paulo where they lived for about three or four years. In Brazil, they led a simple life, but economic conditions proved a hardship. "To irrigate, they carried water from the rivers in buckets. They drank the water from the rivers and grew ill. Their lands did not produce crops to carry them through the winters and they suffered hunger" (Carrasco & Wilcox 1965:4). Some families had to eat livestock fodder in order to avoid starvation. These conditions led them to move to Oregon with the help of Tolstoy Foundation (Marks 1966: n.p.).

The Old Believer families first began to move to Oregon in 1954 and are still arriving today. The families stay with relatives in Oregon until they have found a cheap place to live. The Brazilian Old Polievers neither live together in a colony, nor plan to build houses as they did in Brazil. Instead they hope to flee from the temptations of life in Oregon and go to Alaska or Canada. Some have already left. Those who have purchased large farms will remain in Oregon, but the majority will leave.

Turkish Group:

The Turkish Old Believers had lived in Turkey for nearly three hundred years, although they clung to the Russian language, customs and beliefs while in Turkey "like small islands of Russia, unchanged from the time before Peter the Great." There are no written records about their origin and the history of their travels is hazy. However, it is known that in 1538 the Turks, then at war with the Italians, hired the "Don Cossacks" who were Old Believers to help them fight the Italians. At the end of the war, some remained and some returned to the Don, "but in 1707-8 they revolted against the reforms and limitations of their free rights as Cossacks, imposed by Peter the Great and with Ignat Nekrassov as their leader they emigrated (Samsonoff 1962:1).

Sources differ as to where they went next. One account maintains that they went first to Roumania and then by boat across the Black Sea to Aksehir, a district of Turkey. This group later moved to the Kuban River and then eventually settled around Lake Manyas.

According to another source, "In 1708, a rebel against the Tsars' government named Ignatius Nekrasov after raiding Saratov, Tsaritsyn and Dmitrevsk, fled with his clan to the River Kuban, where he made his submission to the Khan of Crimea and founded the Raskol community known under his name which subsequently was settled in Turkish territory (Conybeare 1921:102).

Some say the Old Believers left Roumania because they were "falling away" from the religion; others attributed the move to the action taken by the Roumanian President allowing autopsies to be performed which was against the Old Believer religion. They feared that the Roumanian President was the anti-Christ and fled to Turkey.

The group of Old Believers from Kuban region, who later settled in the Lake Manyas region in Turkey proper, occupied the villages of Kazak-Koyu and Koca-Gol, while a smaller group lived in Harmedia. The village of Kazak-Koyu is about 130 km. north of Konya. At one time it was composed of Cossack Old Believers, the name of their village meaning "Cossack village," but in 1963 the population was 60% Turkish and 40% Cossack (Samsonoff 1962:1).

The Bezpovovtsy lived in the village of Kazak-Koyu while the Popovtsy lived in the village of Koca-Gol which was all but abandoned when more than a thousand persons deserted the village to return to Russia in 1962. All their relics, icons and service books were confiscated by the Turkish as national art treasures and has refused

to allow them to leave the country.

Except for a few Old Believers who worked and resided in Istanbul, almost all the Old Believers lived in these two villages. Life in the villages was not always peaceful since it was interspersed with wars between Turkey and Greece. One woman recalled an encounter between the Turks and the Greeks in which the Turks slaughtered the Greeks, raped the girls and cut off their heads. An elderly Old Believer man remembered another incident involving the war between Turkey and Greece. Atta Turk told the Old Believers that when the Russians, who were assisting the Turks, came to their village, they should tell them that everything was all right and not to fear a Greek takeover of the village. They did just that, and their village remained out of danger. "What a man that Atta Turk was," said the Old Believer telling the story.

The war between Turkey and Greece, however, did have an effect on the village. After all the men and horses were taken into the Turkish army, the fields were neglected, and the women baked bread from rotten wheat. In addition, there was an earthquake, scaring the women and collapsing several houses. The women began to pray in the church with some of the Greek soldiers. After the war, only some of the men returned to the village alive. Many women were left widows.

The Old Believers began to plant their fields again and prospered, only to watch Turkey enter into war with Russia and have new Russian soldiers force themselves into the Old Believer villages where they lived off the people. The women had to bake fifteen to twenty huge loaves of bread a day, and even then there was not enough for everyone in the family.

To make matters worse, after the war, there were a few years of drought during which time the Old Believers began fishing and were quite successful until thieves started to inundate the village. They locked the Old Believer men in the church and started to harm the women and children. Some of the people hid out in the tall wheat fields. Since the people lived far from the other Turkish villages, there was no way of getting help. All but some seven families decided to return to Russia where they hoped life would be better. These families remaining in Turkey grew to forty-eight families.

Choice of Russia or the U.S.:

In all the Soviet newspapers, numerous headlines extolled the Old Believers to return to their homeland and promised them full religious freedom, giving them until September 1962 to return. A representative of the Russian government went to the Old Believer colony in the 1960's for the purpose of persuading them to return to their motherland. He told some of the Old Believer men that there would be no need to take their icons because there were plenty of them in Russia. Anyway the children would not have time to pray. Only the old people prayed in present day Russia, he maintained. This information very much upset the Old Believer delegates, splitting them into two factions: one side wanted to forget everything the Russian representative

told them and to let the people return to Russia, while the other side believed it was best to be honest with the people. "We must tell the people what was said and then they must decide whether or not they want to return." In the end, the people learned the truth, but their fervent desire to return made many overlook the more ominous aspects.

For many families, it was a difficult decision to make; relatives became separated, some remaining while others went to Russia. One girl and her mother wanted to return, but the father prevailed, and they stayed. In another family, the parents almost separated over the decision, the father wanting to go to Russia, but the wife refusing. The father asked his children, "when we go to the courts with whom will you choose to say?" The children all cried, "we want both of you." Many were full of anxiety even after they had made up their minds to return. One story relates how a man had one foot on the Russian territory when he decided not to go back. The Russian ship captain said, "Sorry sir, but it is too late to change your mind because you are now standing on Russian soil."

To avoid having any of the remaining families come to Russia if it was not good there, the outward bound Old Believers promised to write back about life in Russia. One man promised in the witness of Christ to tell the people the truth. If conditions were good there, he was to write a happy letter, but if they were bad, he was to write an angry letter. This arrangement was made because the Old Believers suspected that the Russians would not allow the truth to be written. Other families asked their relatives who went on to Russia to write back using a particular passage from the Bible to signify whether or not Russia was a suitable country in which to live.

Later it was learned that the Soviets did not keep their promise of land and churches. Two Old Believers who had escaped returned to Turkey and told the others that there was no land for those who went, and not even one church was allowed to be built.

Today the Old Believers still correspond with their relatives who went to Russia. One woman recently received some photos of her sister in Russia. She said that "from the clothes my sister wears in the picture life does not appear too good in Russia." The letters usually say that all is well, but once in awhile the truth is written or word of Turkish is slipped in. For instance, a few Turkish words said, "but they do not believe in God." One man's brother felt that since he was so near the end anyway, he would write the truth in his letter. After reading letters from relatives and hearing about some of the conditions in Russia from others, the Old Believers realized that life in Russia must not be good.

Immigration to the United States:

There were three main reasons why the Old Believers wanted to leave Turkey. The first was religious since the church forbade the Old Believers to marry non-Christians. Within three hundred years, there were only three intermarriages with Moslems, all of which were

unsuccessful because the Moslem men usually left the Christian wife (Samsonoff: 1962:4).

Another problem was the smallness of the Old Believer villages in which almost everyone was related to each other, either by blood or as godparents, etc. The taboo against incest covered not only blood relations, but also descendants of godparents. Thus, the number of available marriage partners was limited with the number of single girls far outnumbering the single men (Samsonoff 1962:4).

This was the reason given by the Tolstoy Foundation report, but there seem to be some inconsistencies. There were other Christians living in Turkey, such as Greeks and Rumanians from which they could have found partners of the Orthodox faith, but the Old Believers resist marrying anyone not of the specific Old Believer sect.

The third problem was economic. The conditions were very hard in Turkey, especially during drought years. There was no artificial irrigation for the poor soil.

Thus, the Old Believers decided to appeal to Canada and the United States for resettlement. They chose these two possibilities because they thought of these two nations as agricultural, Christian countries (Schaufuss 1963:2).

In 1946, they asked for assistance for resettlement in the West, but were rejected for unknown reasons and advised to postpone all action until 1959. In 1949, they appealed to various international agencies, again with no results. Also in 1949, the Soviets had increased their propaganda to return to the homeland which weakened the resistance of those who felt disillusioned after receiving no help from their appeals to the West. In 1959, the group appealed to the Tolstoy Foundation through an Old Believer in the United States, but were not able to receive help at that time. The foundation has not disclosed why this was so (Schaufuss 1963:2).

Early in 1962, a powerful letter signed by Taras Ataman of Lake Manyas reached the Tolstoy Foundation's Munich office. The Foundation took action and sent their overseas director, Vera Samsonoff to Turkey to write up a report on the Old Believers' communities. This report was then sent to the U.S. State Department. By April 12, 1963 Attorney General Kennedy authorized the admission of the remaining group of two hundred and fifty people to the United States. The transportation was arranged by the International Committee for European Migration. The task of resettlement was turned over to the Tolstoy Foundation.

Foundation Preparation in United States and Abroad:

There were some sixty families with a total of one hundred and twenty four children under the age of twelve years in the two hundred and fifty member group. The overseas director Vera Samsonoff was sent to Turkey to counsel this group for their move to the United States. They were told that they would have to take their time in orientating themselves to the new country, become self-supporting, learn the

language, study entirely new farming methods, etc., before purchasing land for resettlement (Schaufuss 1963:7).

Another overseas director, Tatiana Schaufuss, worked with the U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service branch in Ankara. In New York various factors were coalescing for the rapid resettlement of the Old Believers. Temporary housing for the two hundred and fifty villagers was received through the Seabrook Farms Company in New Jersey which loaned a migrant camp to the Tolstoy Foundation (Schaufuss 1963:4). The Mennonite Central Committee of Akron, Pennsylvania renovated and refurbished the Seabrook camp (Schaufuss 1963:2).

When the group arrived at Idlewild Airport on June 5, 1963, they were taken to two initial resettlement locations. There were forty-nine Old Believers from Istanbul and Lake Manyas who belonged to the sect of the "Popovtzy" which recognized the clergy and liturgy of the Russian Orthodox Church. These people were placed at Tolstoy Foundation Farm where they could attend the Orthodox church and use their skills as builders, painters, etc. in the summer renovation program at the Tolstoy Foundation Farm at Valley Cottage, New York (Schaufuss 1963:5).

The other major group of 175 people belonged to the sect called the "Bezpopovtzy" (the priestless) who had no clergy. The majority of men in this group were fishermen and farmers; thus, they were placed at Seabrook Farms where they were able to practice farming. They, too, had a church which they provided themselves by converting an old mess hall into a prayer meeting house (Schaufuss 1963:5).

Because the Seabrook Farms' camp was on temporary loan, other jobs had to be found. The Tolstoy Foundation contacted the leaders of Russian communities in different parts of New Jersey such as the Korolkofs in Lakewood, N.J. who got them jobs in various factories in the communities (Schaufuss 1965:2). This step caused several serious consequences. First, the group dispersed throughout New Jersey and other states, resulting in the loss of group security. Secondly, they had to make a transition to technical occupations which caused greater pressures than to which they were accustomed. They also made more money than ever before which accelerated their movement from the camp to houses adjacent to Russian American communities.

Another plan of the Tolstoy Foundation to speed up assimilation was to disperse the various families over a large area. Different groups helped them plan this task, especially the Mennonites who invited the Old Believers to settle near them. The priestless was overjoyed at first since they wanted to build their future on the land. They felt a close similarity in the way of life, customs and traditions with the Amish (especially in such details as beards, clothing, meeting houses, etc.), but they had no way of communicating with the Mennonites who spoke a different language. Thus, they declined the offer (Schaufuss 1963-6).

This transfer of Russian Old Believers from Turkey to the United States and their resettlement in the United States was one of the speediest ever known. It took only fifteen weeks from the first processing in the local villages in Turkey to the final clearing camp in

New Jersey (Schaufuss 1962:1). The speed of resettlement and concentrated effort to make them assimilate to another culture after maintaining their habits for several hundred years also caused great psychological pressures which will be more fully described later.

Move to Oregon:

In the unfavorable circumstances in New Jersey, the people were forced to conform to the American culture. The men lost their feeling of contact with the land and sea, working in factories which apparently afforded little emotional satisfaction. Moreover, the people became apprehensive alone in their apartments and began to turn to alcohol to help them overcome their problems of insecurity. Their drinking became so excessive that it caused some to be fired from their jobs. Money was being spent on liquor instead of on food.

There were many examples of the Old Believer cultural problems. The women wore modern clothes at work, but changed to native costumes as soon as they returned home. They refused to send their children to school because they saw little value in American education and wanted the older ones home to care for the younger children. The men refused to comply with the safety standards in the factories by cutting off their beards. Neither did they follow twentieth century hygienic standards; nor did they readily seek out medical aid. Also the children were made to observe long fasts at extremely young ages. All these things were noticed by their American neighbors of Russian descent who complained that the Old Believers were "an odd sort of people" who refused to assimilate into the American culture (Korolkoff: 1967).

Undoubtedly, some of the trouble was due to the speed with which they were resettled in this country. The transition from a society rooted in traditions that had little changed since the seventeenth century to the complicated twentieth century life in the U. S. was too difficult for them. They were never given the slow process of orientation of which the Tolstoy Foundation spoke.

In May 1965 a discontented group of Old Believers sent out two families to scout the Willamette Valley in Oregon. The valley had already begun to be settled by a group of Old Believers from Brazil with whom the Turkish group had been previously in contact. The area was rich in farmland, in between two cities, Portland and Salem, giving them a good job market and offering them a chance to live together since they did not like the dispersed situation in New Jersey. They wanted to live together and build their future on the land in a homogeneous community similar to the Amish - in order to preserve their tradition, ethnic background and religion. It was feared that without the close-knit village structure, the individual families would drift apart and the youth would be assimilated into the twentieth century American culture (Schaufuss Appendix II:2).

Without even seeing the land in Oregon, each family sent \$900.00 to the scouts who in turn bought a large plot of land which was to be broken up into two acres for each family. Two houses were contracted to go up at each end of the village. The other houses were built from

the models of the first two houses by the Old Believers themselves or built by contractors. Those who could not afford it or could not wait for a house to be built, purchased huge house trailers which were permanently set up in the colony. Soon a core of eight or nine families were settled, helping out the new arrivals by supplying them with canned goods prepared from the produce of their first gardens in Oregon. As the families arrived by train or cars, they looked over the land and selected their choice of plot. Several families often found the same land appealing, thus engaging in many quarrels over just who was going to live nearest the church, for example, since that was considered the best territory.

Until the houses were completed, many families had to live in camps built for migrants. Almost every small cubicle was overcrowded with large Russian families and a few Mexican families. The rent was cheap, only forty dollars a month, but the price paid in poor health and sanitation was high. Bugs crawled from floor to ceiling, and if one did not have the hope of eventually moving out, it would have been difficult to survive there. One Russian baby managed to live after being hospitalized, but caught pneumonia and died soon after he returned home where the cold air blasted into the room every time someone entered the house.

Another problem with the three room housing in the camps was a lack of any storage space especially needed in such large families. A principal from the public school near the camp told the writer how the "Anglos" were calling the Old Believer children "stinking Russians" because of the odor their clothes gathered, being exposed on wall hooks to the cooking odors of cabbage and onions, both frequently used in their diet.

III. RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

Religion is the center of the Old Believer life, a source of value and meaning. To be an Old Believer means to accept and follow the religion in its entirety without picking and choosing what one will believe and what he rejects.

Church ritual is a very important part of their religion. The importance of ritual for them is reflected in the name sometimes attached to them of "Old Ritualists". The ritual is so significant because it is more than simply symbolic, it is a re-experience of various religious events. The whole of the church service is ritualistic and experienced as a living reality to which they react with great emotion. When one understands this fact, one can realize why many have become martyrs throughout their history.

Great emphasis is placed on the exact performance of the ritual both for its symbolic importance and because of the sanctification by the long tradition behind the ritual. In order to become an Old Believer after belonging to another religion, one must be re-baptized to make certain that the individual has undergone the ritual correctly and, thus, authentically baptized. One orthodox Russian man who married an Old Believer was not allowed to pray in church until he had been re-baptized.

Much ritual is found prescribed in the Bible and other holy books such as the St. John Chrysostom and the Ustaf which contains regulations on how to live, act and fast during each day of the year. Certain foods are prohibited on various days; each day has appropriate prayers and religious ritual; certain days have restrictions against different activities, such as dancing, traveling, etc. For example on the day of the beheading of St. John the Baptist the Ustaf declares: "bows from the waist. At the table we eat with oil two times a day, but fish we do not eat."

There may be some controversy over the Ustaf since there are two versions of the work; one printed by the Solovestki Monastery and the other more popular book written by St. Cyril. When they conflict, they follow one of the books, but usually with great debate among members of the community.

Another area of ritual observance is the four main Lents: Easter, Christmas, St. Peter and Paul, and Feast of the Assumption. The Lents total twenty weeks a year plus Wednesday and Friday fasts. During these, they usually do not have any meat or dairy products, but they can eat fruits and vegetables. These Lents tax the children who become somewhat lethargic in school at the end of a five, six or seven week Lent. The smaller children do not receive milk during this time, and health authorities have been concerned with their condition, especially since some mothers do not understand what to substitute to achieve balanced nutrition.

Church ritual is very formal and strictly adhered to by everyone. Everything is ritualistically significant from the way one dresses to the way one holds his hands. The females wear long dresses with long sleeves and short over-jackets. Their hair must be covered with a kerchief. The males wear long, black kaftans. Both sexes wear a woven belt around their waists as a symbol of their Christian baptism.

Each person has a specific ritual to perform when he enters the church. One must pray before the icon outside of the church, making the sign of the cross and bending low from the waist two or three times. This is repeated in the lobby and in one's place. The men and boys occupy the space in front of the church while the women and girls stand in the rear. At one's place each person again makes the sign of the cross and bows down several times touching his head on a small square prayer mat, which is used because the floor is considered unclean, as the place where people walk. If a person does not have a prayer mat, he may use his friend's or substitute a handkerchief, piece of material, or even a kitchen towel. The individual also uses rosaries made from black material knotted one hundred times signifying one hundred different prayers.

During the church service, the people must stand absolutely straight with hands folded under their arms. The men dominate the church service leading in the Bible readings and singing of chants. The men move as one body to the center of the church where they recite the Bible passages in unison while the church elder blesses the icons in the church by making the sign of the cross before each icon with a censor on a wooden handle. About three-fourths the way through the service, the elder and an old man bring a candlestick and Bible on a stand to the center of the church. First all the males and then all the females, in grouping of two bow down to the floor two times and then kiss the Bible and bow their head two more times to the floor. The old man then takes the candlestick and makes a circle going counter-clockwise around the Bible, returning the items near the altar, circling once more near the altar. At other times during the service people bow low from the waist or to the floor, bells ring and chants are sung in the same way that this sect of Christians has been doing it for thousands of years. The dominant character of their religion is adherence to the old ritual, and even though these forms of worship are repeated time after time, the meaning still remains alive for them.

There is a cycle of church services each weekend which begins early Saturday evening with "Vechernia" or evening service and marks the beginning of the holiday which is the Russian translation of "Sunday". It begins at 7:00 P.M. and ends about 8:15 or 8:30 P.M. The next service, the Avcenuca, or the Saturday night service, which is considered as part of the Sunday service and begins about 8:30 P.M. and ends about 1:00 A.M. Then the Sunday morning service is performed from 6:00 A.M. to 8:00 A.M., and the Sunday evening service or Vechernia begins at 6:30 P.M. and ends about 7:45 P.M. and marks the end of the holiday. This is a rigorous schedule of services which is followed every weekend and for any holiday which may occur during the week. The time schedules change with the season and are arranged according to the position of the sun. The Brazilians follow another schedule and have eliminated the

first, short evening service. They attend church from 5:00 P.M. to 9:00 P.M. on Saturday night and from 1:00 A.M. to 10:00 P.M., praying throughout the night. The Turkish Old Believers were switching to the Brazilian schedule when this writer left them in September.

Attendance at these services is quite erratic, although if a person misses going to church for two consecutive Sundays, he is liable to excommunication. The majority attend the Saturday night service in the Turkish colony, but there are occasionally a few who stay home. Usually people rotate turns taking care of the very small children at home. But the person who remains at home is supposed to pray too. However, if the mother only has one or two small children, she usually brings them to church where they sleep on a bench or in a corner.

At a Sunday evening service, fewer people attend. Many can be seen sitting out on their porches socializing while the church is in progress. On one occasion, a young couple was seen leaving the village just as the bells were ringing for church. Neither did the boy's father attend who was asleep inside in his house. Nor did his mother who do not want to go to church alone.

For several weeks at a time, some of the young Brazilian girls maintained that they were too "lazy" to go to church and had stayed home instead, although their week-long work in the fields made reluctance to attend their all night service understandable.

Thus, compulsory attendance in principle does not work out in practicality. It is rather obvious in the small community who is absent from church. Lights on in various houses also identify those absent. Yet the pressure for conformity to the rules of the group, even in this most important area of religion, is not absolutely binding.

Adults are constantly watching the children during the service, poking them to keep their attention on the church service. One woman was observed slapping a girl who turned her head. Shaking the children when they fidget is not uncommon. Although the women are in charge of maintaining order among the children, sometimes a man will yell at the children in the middle of the service if noise persists. The children are told to stand as straight as candles and are expected to stand as still and as long as the adults. They allow the children a fifteen to twenty minute break in the four hour service. Some of the younger children also go outside the church for short intervals, although this is frowned upon by the adults.

The formal ritual of the church controls the behavior of the worshippers, indeed to a remarkable degree considering the length and rigor of the service, yet there are exceptions to the rigid formality of the worship. The main tactic of disciplining the children in church is a rather simple adjuration to stand still and be quiet or else. The smaller children and even the older girls and women do not understand the church slavonic; thus, there is little in the way of intellectual appeal for these elements, although in some families the sermon is explained afterwards at home by the father. "Religious beliefs in

these families are maintained through compulsion and fear," one writer asserted about the Old Believers in Russia today (Kolariz 1961:17). It is also true for the Old Believers living in Oregon too.

In the home there are also certain rituals that the family follows. For instance, after returning from church, the individual crosses himself before entering the house and then before every icon in the house. In almost every room, there are icons in one corner which are hundreds of years old; around each one is an embroidered cloth and some artificial flowers, candles and Christmas balls. On a table below the icon in the main room rests a large, old family Bible.

A literal interpretation of the Bible is followed by the Old Believers who believe that the past, present and future can be found in this book. They have a literal belief in the advent of the end of the world and the coming of the anti-Christ. One woman told this writer that the Judgment Day would soon come, the earth would end, and we would have to face God. It's bad enough that non-Christians do not follow the word of God, but "the Old Believers know God; therefore, they have to follow His word."

The Old Believers also believe in the reality of two worlds, the physical and the spiritual. The desire of man should be to live for the next world. "If one lives for the next world..., he will pray and pray and pray and ask God for help, and if he earns it God will help him, and he will be in the holy place."

Another Old Believer literal interpretation of the Bible is seen in the belief in the devil who reveals himself in many disguises. When a person drinks excessively or does not follow the Old Believer ways, they say "the devil stepped on him." There are many stories of how the devil overpowered someone. For example, one woman started to follow the Turkish ways more than her own, and as a result the "devil stepped on her child" by paralyzing her and giving her epilepsy. About ten years later, the woman returned to the Old Believer ways and prayed for her child to return to normal, but it was too late.

It is believed that if one prays night and day when the devil first appears, God will answer the prayers. For instance, when a girl's mother saw her two year old daughter suddenly begin to have shaking fits, the mother fasted and prayed for forty days until her child had recovered. As the devil left, he made his exit dramatically known. In her haste to go to the Christmas eve service, the mother had forgotten to extinguish the candle in front of the icon. When she returned, she found everything burned except the icon and the Bible. She believed the fire to be the work of the devil and one of his last acts. That marked the last day of her readings and prayers for her child, and shortly thereafter she was cured.

Some believe that the devil disguised as the anti-Christ is here now, especially with man attempting to reach the moon. The Old Believers are angry to hear that man is going to the moon. "Why is man going to the moon? There is nothing there but air, and no one can learn who created the world because God did." When a radio announcer said that, "we

are looking for the key to the world on the moon," an enraged Old Believer girl shouted, "In our book it says that God is the key to the world." She continued her explanation by saying, "God made the moon to reflect the sun on the earth so that we would have light and that is all. Once man goes to the moon, he will want to go farther and farther. God will get angry with him, and it will result in the end of the world. It is not really God who will put an end to this world, but man. All this it says in our books and we believe it." All the other Old Believers present strongly voiced their agreement with the above statement and shook their heads in fear of what might come. They felt that their books were right and that many predictions in their books had already come true since they had moved to Oregon. None believed that man had actually landed on the moon and called it American propaganda.

Another story of the anti-Christ involved the naming of a child. The child's father said that it was right to call his son "Samuel" because the prophets once again were prophesying "since this was the era of the anti-Christ."

Belief in miracles is extremely prevalent, especially since so much of their lives is symbolic or ritualistic, and coincidental events are thought to have a direct connection with the symbols or ritual. For example, a woman saw a gold spot on an icon to which she was praying become two stars of unequal size. She interpreted this to mean that the Turkish group would split which indeed it did with the larger contingent going toward the larger star in the west, while the smaller group followed the smaller star to the east.

Another miraculous event was when two boys saw a light suddenly ascend out of the church during the night. They fell on their knees in awe. Later it was decided that God had left the church since the Old Believers were thinking too much of this world and not the next.

Yet another instance involved a dead man who was placed in his coffin under a table around which friends and relatives prayed. After the prayer vigil, the lid of the coffin was lifted back to reveal tears rolling down the dead man's face!

Another miracle occurred when two families were about to part in Turkey amidst many tears and sadness. Suddenly they heard the church bells ringing from the empty church.

The Old Believer ritual reflects dogma, and the people are well versed in both; thus, they have many discussions about these both for the love of debate and because it is an important part of their lives; however, many conflicts arise. They are not a conciliatory or compromising people, especially in these areas. This trait, on the one hand, has kept their ritual pure since ancient times, but on the other hand, it has led to many splits in the group. The Sinkiang group, for example, was divided into the worshippers of metal icons and those of wooden icons. One day a man and a few of his friends had an argument over which was the proper kind of icon to pray to. The splinter group contended that they did not want to pray to any hand painted icons because they felt that the painter had added his human interpretation

and was unable to portray the divine presence of God. As a result they left the leader's house where they prayed only to metal icons.

Another dispute centered around trying to decide whether it was all right to buy icon's from Brother Ambrose, an Old Believer rite Catholic monk. His church had a monastery in Belgium where the Russian Catholic monks painted the icons. If heretics, meaning any non-Old Believers, painted the icons, the Old Believers would not buy them. After much debate, they accepted Brother Ambrose's icons, but gave each one a thorough inspection to determine if the symbolism were accurate.

The vociferous nature of these disputes threatens to break up the community. For example, one Old Believer will refuse to attend church for awhile because of doctrinal disputes or others may even threaten to leave the community. This is the biggest threat from within the group that might affect the stability of the community.

The relationship between the Turkish and Brazilian groups in Oregon is not too friendly and is filled with biases. The Old Believers are xenophobic and nationally oriented; therefore, the Turkish group suspects the Brazilians and vice versa. For instance, an elderly Turkish man claimed that the continual movement of the Brazilians had made them "fall away from the books a little and do not always follow them right. But the Brazilians are changing because they see how the Turks keep the books." One Brazilian claimed "the Turkish people don't read the books so well or sing from books." They also talk about the lack of purity in the Turkish-Russian tongue and are critical of the Turkish because they eat crab meat which has cloven feet.

Some of these views are changing as the young couples intermarry between the groups. They live in the village of the male and are expected to attend the man's church. But the adults are less likely to change their opinions of one another.

Church Structure

The Bezpopovtsy, or priestless group of Old Believers, have lived without priests for several hundreds of years and give one the impression that they have adjusted to not having an ordained priest. Instead of a consecrated priest performing the liturgy, and other services, they have an elder who is elected by the people. There are altogether three men who form the ladder of authority within the Turkish Old Believer church. The diak or elder is responsible for conducting the church services, teaching the children, and seeing to discipline within the colony. Among the duties of the priest is the administering of the sacraments, but since the elder is not ordained, he is not permitted to give the people all the sacraments, although the elder does perform marriages and baptisms. He does not confess people; instead the Old Believers practice lay confession to each other. Around Easter time everyone chooses any one person in the colony and confesses all his sins to him. That person is called "God's witness" and is not supposed to reveal one's sins to anyone or all the sins will be upon the teller. If the person to whom one confesses dies, one must choose someone else to be his witness and tell him all his sins from the beginning. The children usually begin

confessing at eight or nine years old. The witness assigns prayers for penance. A person can also take some holy water which represents the body and blood of Christ if he really wants it. Usually it is only taken before death.

Next in line after the elder is the pamatchek or assistant to the elder, and the third person is the psalomchuk or person who reads the psalms.

The church organization of the Brazilian Old Believers is somewhat different. At the top is the nactiatela, the one who presides at any service. The second is the uctavnik, the one who makes sure that the service goes according to the books. The third is the nacpavnik, the cantor. The fourth is the pomoshnik, the assistant to the elder.

In both the Turkish and Brazilian groups, the elder is elected by the people. The Turkish group elect their elder for one year, while the Brazilians elect theirs every five years. In the past the elder was elected for life, but now no one wants the responsibilities of the job for so long. Almost any adult male is eligible as long as he can read the church books. When this writer asked one elder's daughter how her father managed to do all his work, she replied, "He's almost gray." An old Turkish man commented, "No one wants to stand and be elder, even for a year. Everyone wants to work and put money in the bank."

Today the elder's job is much more difficult than it was in Turkey. "In Oregon the elder has to talk to the people about themselves and their children almost every few weeks after church, while maybe once in six years he had to speak to the people in Turkey.... In Turkey the Old Believers didn't have money, only bread and religion. They prayed like in a monastery. Here they have plenty to eat and drink, but they do not keep the religion. It is not enough to talk about the religion, but you must also pray."

In order to keep the people from "falling away" from the religion, the present elder has become very strict with the people about keeping the holidays which means staying home from work and spending many long hours in church. The people are afraid that they will lose their jobs if they take off from work on minor holidays. As a result there have been many fights about the keeping of the holidays. Many people feel that the elder is too hard on them. As one person commented, "The elder doesn't understand the people's difficulties. They cannot take so much religion now. He should compromise with them and not push so hard or they will turn away."

The elder has critics no matter what he does. One man left the church one Saturday night because the elder never called on him to read from the books. The elder is not liked by everyone and that is one of the reasons the Turks elect a new leader every year. One added, "they get tired of him."

Church Discipline and Control Over Members:

The elder has the authority to discipline the people in the colony

by admonishing them privately or publically in church or elsewhere. Sometimes a person will tell the elder that he has observed someone else sinning; the elder then questions the accused who usually does not lie to the elder. If the person is guilty, he is given prayers to say or even more punishment such as exclusion from church for some time. Occasionally, the elder embarrasses the guilty in church by singling him out for special admonishment. In one case, a man took down the names of all the Old Believer children who had attended the Sunday afternoon movie, and the elder read the list on the next Sunday.

Sometimes one is publically humiliated for his sins by having to pray in front of the congregation, thereby revealing his sinfulness to everyone. Also, one might have to stand in the vestibule of the church instead of inside, as punishment for working on a holiday or cutting of the beard, not keeping the fasts or not coming to church enough. They are considered "kicked out" of the church for several days, weeks or months, depending on the severity of the sin. The vestibule is also the place where outsiders, visitors and members of other religions who are considered heretics can stand to watch the service but are not allowed to pray with the Old Believers. When I, as field worker, attempted to enter the church to pray with the Old Believers, one man turned around and yelled right in the middle of the service. I was shown a spot in the vestibule where I was told to stand with my arms folded.

On several Sundays, the elder stopped the church service just before everyone left the church and called out the names of those girls most Americanized who had cut their hair, worn short skirts and did not keep the holidays. He demanded that one girl, who had been admonished three times before, come to the front of the church and bow down from the waist to the floor several times and ended by refusing them permission to return to pray in the church. This is one of the most humiliating experiences for a person and his family who will extend the punishment by excommunicating the individual from eating out of the same dishes with other members of the family. Each meal is symbolic of the reenactment of the last supper. Thus, the individual is spiritually excluded from the family as well as the church. This process is the most severe punishment since it cuts the individual off from the grace of God as well as the community and his family. The grace of God can be gained only through participation in church ritual by sinless or repentant individuals.

To return to the church, one must ask the elder's forgiveness and promise never to commit the same sin again. Then the elder prays over him and absolves him, thus allowing him to rejoin the church, possibly after saying special prayers in front of the church. The elder will not absolve anyone who is not "genuinely contrite."

The congregation as a whole is instructed during the sermon by the elder, part of which is read from a book containing weekly lectures on how a Christian should act and part is an explanation of a Bible passage or the significance of a future holiday, etc. For instance, one Sunday the people heard how they were not supposed to come to church with an angry heart or fight with anyone on that day. In church, they were supposed to have thoughts only of God, but some children admitted to

this writer that they thought about the latest monster movie they had seen instead of God. The elder sometimes reprimands and instructs the whole community directly after the service. One Sunday he told all the mothers that they were not doing a good job taking care of the children who were running in and out of the church during the service. Then he told them that the children were not using the bathroom but going on the floor. He told the mothers to make sure the children used the toilets. Everyone listened very intently to his speech, and all the children were shushed quiet.

Another way in which the community exercises control over the individual is through "sobors," or meetings, in which the Old Believer men draw up certain laws such as which holidays will be observed as major and which as minor. Also, they decide such matters as whether to allow attendance at movies, or have T.V., etc. On one occasion on January 5, 1968, the Old Believers of the three groups, Turkish, Harbin and Sinkiang, had a joint meeting to decide on some standard rules for the whole community. It was decided that it was sinful to go to the movies, watch T.V., listen to the radio or records, or play a musical instrument or attend "secular entertainment" as admonished in the Book of Laws of the Ecumenical Councils, seventy-first law of the Sixth Ecumenical Council.

These laws, however, are not rigidly enforced by all the elders, and some parents may turn their backs on their children or even enjoy some of the girls' dancing. For example, on one Sunday afternoon, a few girls decided to learn some new Russian dances at one girl's house. Only the girl's mother was home, and she allowed the girls to dance; she even stood guard at the door to make certain no one suddenly barged in. When her husband returned home, the girls immediately stopped dancing and scrambled to sit in the nearest seat.

The young people enjoy watching T.V. at other people's houses and go to the movies but do not tell their parents. The majority of children at one Sunday movie were Russian children who sat on the edge of their seats throughout. Some have to translate for those who have just arrived from Brazil or whose English is limited.

One girl reported to this writer how she would watch the late, late show on T.V. in New Jersey where she worked for an American family as a housekeeper. She also saw "Gone With the Wind" twice and cried each time. She said that although she knew it was sinful, she could not help herself and "loved to go to the movies every week."

Influence of Religion:

There are many mores that are determined by religion. For example, the church service hours influence the time for social intercourse. The all night services keep the Old Believers awake; thus, they sleep during the morning and get up late in the day. They socialize late in the afternoons and evenings. Their meal schedule is radically altered also. Sometimes they do not eat supper until late at night. Their insularity is reinforced because Americans feel they are quite peculiar in their time of worship.

Religion also influences the matter for discussion on social occasions. Great disputes rage about dogma with frequent reference to the Bible, commentaries on the Bible by the early church fathers and early councils, all of which many have in hand copied editions in their homes.

Another example of how religion influences social behavior is the occasion of women gathering on a religious holiday for the reading and translating of biblical stories. In a garage, which had been converted into a room, a group of women gathered after church to listen to a Bible story which was being read by one of the older girls. As the girl read, her mother explained to the other women what some of the words meant since not everyone could understand the church slavonic. The babies rested on the bed while the young children crawled or played with a spoon or shoe on the floor. The mothers rarely missed any of the story even with some ten children about. People came at various times, crossed themselves before the icon and then said "praznikom," "happy holiday." Some stayed to listen to the story for awhile and then left. The women cried through parts of the story, sat on the edge of their seats and anxiously waited to hear the next which might bring smiles and eyes filled with joy. They reacted to every emotional shift in the story. The reader had to use her apron several times to wipe away her tears when the story became too sad. Each person became actively interested in the story, explaining parts, agreeing, shaking their heads and encouraging the reader to go on. This was their form of entertainment in which an emotional catharsis took place. They listened to the story all day, although they had heard it many times before.

Religion also determines dietary laws. Any food that is cooked by someone who is not an Old Believer is considered "pagani", "unclean," and cannot be eaten. Neither can they eat from dishes belonging to non-Old Believers. Very early in life a child learns what foods he is allowed to eat. For example, one four year old girl refused to eat any ice cream because she said it was "pagani" even after the "Americans" insisted they would never tell her parents.

If an Old Believer stays away from the colony and eats with non-Old Believers, upon returning he is banned from sharing in the family's food and eats from separate dishes until the elder says special prayers over the person. One girl worked for nine months for an American family while she lived in New Jersey. She came home once a week, but was never allowed to eat from the family's dishes. Neither was she allowed to stand in the church proper. After nine months, she returned permanently to the colony and asked the elder to reinstate her, which was done.

Because the dietary laws prohibit eating food cooked by someone else, the Old Believers usually grow plenty of fruits and vegetables which they preserve by canning and use during the winter. They buy as few products as possible from the grocery, mainly such items as flour, sugar, butter and salt. In the beginning, the Old Believers rarely ever ate American foods. They did eat a great many eggs and a great deal of meat until they got satiated on it due to their near starvation in Brazil. After a few years, however, the Old Believers purchased more food products from American stores. For example, one little girl was proud because her

mother could bake American and Russian cookies. She also said her mother loved to eat ice cream, but her father forbade it in the house.

In matters of meat, they smoke and salt salmon and other fish which they catch during the summer. They usually will not eat chicken that has been prepared by Americans, preferring to buy, kill and clean their own chickens, sometimes twenty at a time. Meat is also bought on the hoof. If they see a good cow in the fields, they bargain with the farmer until he sells it. They store their meat in rented food lockers.

If an outsider eats in an Old Believer house, his dishes are set aside and are used only for that person. A prayer is said over the individual before he eats. Without these procedures, an Old Believer is not supposed to eat with anyone who does not follow the Old Believer religion. This may also include any member of the family or a relative who has not kept the fasts or has shaved his beard, etc.

Whenever a person is about to eat his food, he must make the sign of the cross first before taking any food from each bowl. The Old Believers do this before they take a drink while visiting, in school, at work, or wherever. One weekend a group of young girls visited this writer's house where they had supper. They said that it would be all right for them to eat with paper plates and cups and plastic spoons. After dishing out their food there was a long, uneasy silence. Suddenly, one of the girls stood up and asked me where the icon was. When I told them that I didn't have one, they still made the sign of the cross, then began to eat. They were a little embarrassed to pray in front of us, but could not eat until they had prayed.

Religion determines what can or should be done in almost all phases of a person's life. He learns to obey these rules and rituals at an early age and fears the punishment for not following them. However, as the Old Believers acculturate, they begin to break away from some of these religious laws. It is not uncommon to see groups of Old Believer children waiting in line to go to the Sunday afternoon movie, eating out at drive-in stands, buying bags of candy and ice cream, although some girls said that buying ice cream was like buying a ticket to the devil. The children, especially, are caught between their desire to enjoy certain aspects of American life and religious prohibitions against them. These temptations are the main reason many Old Believers want or already have moved to Alaska and Canada.

Cohesive Power of Religion:

Religion exerts a great deal of pressure on the group towards homogeneity. Religion is the basis of their life, determining most of their behavior and values. One example is the extent with which religion pervades all aspects of their life is the statement by one person that "My parents are not interested in living but only in keeping the religion."

Religion gives the group a feeling of superiority over others since the Old Believers assert that they have the only true faith. Since they depend on either tradition or religious texts for most values and life styles, they feel quite confident about most of these matters. Thus, even though they are in the minority in the midst of a people who are different, they feel strongly about these issues.

Moreover, their exclusiveness as a religious group makes them suspicious of all outsiders, thus protecting them from external influence. For example, children were not allowed to talk with me for many weeks after my first appearance at the village. One must remember that they are also afraid of harassment from hooligans which has happened sporadically. Also, a number of government officials have visited them, usually about some matter such as children's attendance at schools. There is also a great deal of prejudice among the local residents against Russians.

In Turkey, one must remember also, they dwelt in the midst of a Moslem population that was not always friendly. The Brazilians have a similar background. Both isolated themselves as much as possible because they believed the Moslems to be heretics. Brother Ambrose pointed out that there is biblical injunction for Christians to avoid association with non-Christians. "Consorting with people of another faith is a great sin, and... one must live a separate and isolated life (Kolarz: 1961:132).

The inability of the adults to speak English keeps them isolated from the rest of the community, except in earning money and spending it. But in their jobs they work together and speak Russian among themselves and do not feel that there is a need to learn English. Many of the adults feel they are too old to learn a third or fourth language; many already know Turkish, Russian, church slavonic and some know Roumanian. The Brazilians know Portuguese, Chinese, Russian and church slavonic. They also tend to depend on a few people who speak English and on the children to translate when contact with the English speaking community is necessary. One daughter took care of buying the house, appliances, her own car and takes care of all her family's legal and financial matters.

Their strict adherence to ritual is also a factor in their homogeneity as their practice of being highly critical of performance of religious ritual carries over into many other areas, thus exerting great social pressure for conformity. For example, they are highly critical of dress, some aspects of which have religious significance such as the length of dress being the same as in the time of Christ. Their woven belt is religiously symbolic of baptism but is worn tied in different ways by the different groups. If a belt or other aspect of dress is worn differently, it is immediately corrected or ridiculed.

Relations with Members of Other Religious Groups:

The Old Believer's relationships with and understanding of other religious groups is limited. For example, Protestantism was unknown to some members. Anyone who did not believe in Christ such as "Jews,

Buddhists and Moslems" were against them. According to one ex-elder, "Buddha tried to be a big shot, a Jesus Christ, but he was really the devil." Thus, they are rather narrow in their understanding and tolerance of other groups.

One contingent with which they came in contact was the Old Believer rite Catholics, who are Catholics who practice the Old Believer ritual. Two members who came in contact with the Old Believers were Brother Ambrose and Father Theodore, Catholic missionaries to the Old Believers in Oregon. Previously, Father Wilcox, another Catholic priest, assisted the Old Believers in China. Brother Ambrose and Father Theodore were never fully accepted into the church by the Old Believers even though they followed the Old Believer rite. They attended a Brazilian Old Believer church for six months, after which the new elder told them they could not pray in the church unless they were re-baptized by the Old Believers. Thus, to be fully accepted by the Old Believers, entails not only following the ritual, but also being re-baptized so that the Old Believers can see for themselves that it has been done properly.

Many people, both in and outside the Old Believers, feel that Brother Ambrose and Father Theodore are trying to get Father Theodore accepted as their priest, thereby placing them under the Catholic church. Father Theodore uses the idea that the Old Believers are without a priest and, thus, need him if they are to have all the sacraments performed. Theodore claims that an Old Believer woman made confession to him as if she accepted him as priest. Once at an Old Believer marriage celebration, Father Theodore suggested that the young couple was not properly married and that he should perform a real marriage. However, at another time Father Theodore admitted that a priest was not really necessary at a marriage, even according to Catholicism.

Another problem that Father Theodore brings up is that of the blessing of the Eucharist which requires a priest. But the Old Believers do not seem too worried since they appear to have a supply that has been blessed and take the bread and water only when near death. Also, they halve the water everytime they use it so that they never will run out.

Father Theodore points out the many similarities between Catholicism and the Old Believers; thus making a case that the Old Believers should join with the Catholics. Some examples are: (1) both believe in Immaculate Conception, and (2) both can have marriages performed without a priest. He also maintains that the split between the pre-Nikonian Orthodox (who later became the Old Believers) and the Catholics was an unfortunate accident of history.

Another tactic by Brother Ambrose and Father Theodore to gain Old Believer sympathy is to give legal advice, transportation for medical care, and various other favors; thereby making the people somewhat dependent on them and also gaining entry into their houses in the evening to discuss social and religious issues. Undoubtedly, they, of any outsiders, have the closest contact with the people and the greatest chance to influence them. Being well versed in the dogma and ritual,

they know how to debate with the people. They also printed up a list of holidays and assisted in gaining release from work on these days and are trying to get accord among the groups as to which holidays must be observed without work.

By taking them to medical care centers and translating for them, they are assisting them in the acceptance of modern medicine. Also, they are helping them get acclimated to the labyrinth of bureaucratic red tape. By taking them to various stores in Portland and Salem, Father Theodore increases their acculturation. He took them to one large department store in Portland which they otherwise would not have visited since it looked too expensive. Usually, they frequent the discount stores. Father Theodore also buys airplane tickets, assists with banking, visits the rose gardens and museums, goes on picnics with them, etc.

Father Theodore is partially accepted socially, but not as an Old Believer priest or even as an Old Believer layman. He is welcomed in some houses, but not in others. He has visited one house almost every evening. However, he might not be as welcome as he feels as the little sister reported that his visits become tiresome. However, some people have accepted his help gratefully, and even visit him at his monastery residence. Although they gratefully accept his help and may even enjoy socializing with him, they remain unconvinced that he is an Old Believer and refuse to accept him either as a priest or as a participant in their church. Before I left Oregon, Theodore maintained that he was shortly leaving to return east to take up new duties, thus apparently giving up hope of having the Old Believers join the Catholic church.

Another contact with a person of another faith is that with Father Nicholas Sanin, an Orthodox priest in Salem, who is supposed to act as representative of Tolstoy and responsible for the legal matters of Turkish Old Believers. Although he is not interested in their conversion to Orthodoxy, he does want them to conform to the American culture in as many ways as possible so that they will present fewer problems for him and the Foundation. For example, he feels they should not take off from work and school for so many religious holidays. He feels that just as other Russian groups assimilated, especially in the second generation, so will and should the Old Believers. He feels that by going to school, the young will lose their cultural traditions. In this respect, he seems to reflect the Tolstoy Foundation attitude of assimilation.

Father Sanin has not been involved as closely in the many affairs and problems of the Old Believers as some. He is not usually seen in the community and does not visit people very often. He was away in San Francisco for a month in the summer on other church duties.

As Tolstoy representative he is the only one empowered to help the people apply for citizenship and residency cards, but since he is not readily available to the people, they are turning to Father Theodore and Brother Ambrose who do not have the legal authority. Some papers which Father Sanin did fill out were incorrect; thereby, causing them to be refused permanent residency. The people are entirely confused about their status, avenues of redress, and generally the whole question of their legal status as parolees trying to become permanent residents. This confusion has existed for several years.

IV. ECONOMIC PATTERNS

The Old Believers subsisted in harsh conditions in Turkey, eating meat perhaps once a year. Crops were subject to damage from drought. Some Old Believers can still remember as children asking for bread when there was none to be had. Both men and women worked in the fields growing wheat, barley, sugar beets and some vegetables. If an Old Believer had only a small plot of land, he worked as a seasonal laborer on the farms of richer Old Believers or Turks. Only a few families owned their own fields. The land usually belonged to the government which sold it in twenty year installments, but most Old Believers never finished paying and suffered a financial loss as they had to forfeit all their payments when they left Turkey (Samsonoff 1962:3). When the farming season was over, the men went fishing. Some of them were engaged in commercial fishing for the Turks. One Turk felt that it would mean financial ruin when they left since he had never seen such skilled and honest fishermen. He offered to pay \$500 to every fisherman who would stay, but none did (Samsonoff 1962:3).

Those from China suffered dire financial hardships also since all their money was taken from them by the communists or spent on travel costs when escaping. In Brazil they almost starved to death because of the lack of an irrigation system for their crops. They were able to earn only fifty cents a day and inflated prices caused a great strain. They were reduced to eating cattle fodder before receiving Tolstoy Foundation assistance in moving to Oregon. Although the Turkish Old Believers had their transportation to America paid for, the Brazilians had to pay the airlines in twenty-four months an average of \$5,000 for a family of ten. They have worked to pay off these debts and save up for relatives to make the trip from Brazil. In addition to travel expenses, they have to pay for rent, cars, food, medical and legal aid. Some are saving for land in Alaska.

The American standard of living demands a greater economic outlay for such matters as housing, car transportation, etc. For example, the Turkish Old Believers wanted to have their private village street paved which cost each family over \$500. Sewer facilities and electricity were additional building costs. Paint for the house every few years, lawn mowers and garden tools also had to be bought.

The Old Believers have several sources of income in Oregon: factory work and farming. The men work in the furniture factories in Portland. Some of the women and older girls work in sewing factories, while the rest of the women, children and older people work on farms as pickers. In one family, for example, the father works in a furniture factory, two daughters work in sewing factories and four other children work with the mother in the fields while the old aunt takes care of the youngest four at home. In the evening, they all work in the family garden. Because of large families, this pattern is quite common.

All the money earned by the children is given to the family. The children are given perhaps 25¢ to 75¢ on Sunday as an allowance, after working six days a week for about \$10 per day. Thus, a greater number of children is not so much an economic burden, but rather an asset. Also, work of each member of the family tends to bind them together more than when one person earns all the family's income. The children are quite proud of how much they earn, but never think of the money as their own. The children are more aware of the financial condition of the family as they are often able to quote exactly how much the family owes or has saved in the bank.

The children, women and older people begin work in the fields on neighboring farms at about 6:30 A.M. and may work until 3:00 or 5:00 P.M., taking a short break for lunch of soup and bread which they eat right in the fields. The children are very competitive and work diligently throughout the day, often without any adult supervision. They accept their daily work as well as any adult and are generally high spirited and happy. Some also take care of younger siblings as they work. My husband, who accompanied me in field work, and I picked three hundred pounds of beans in five hours, while three small girls not over ten years old picked six hundred pounds in six hours. One man, home on an American holiday, picked three thousand pounds of beans with his ten children earning \$90 for the day. The pickers receive three cents a pound for beans in the field, while the farmer gets about nine cents a pound, depending on the quality, at the packing plant.

Those who do not pick on farms within walking distance of the village, travel about by car looking for a field with a sign advertising for help. Sometimes they return for perhaps as much as a week at a time to the same field. Later in the season they may return again for second and third pickings. The Old Believers are highly respected as workers by the American farmers and compete for Russian workers. Some farmers expressed preference for Russian workers over others. Those Russians who have cars are able to seek out farmers who pay more.

Some Old Believers own their own farm, employing other Old Believers. Three brothers bought one farm for a reputed \$90,000. In two cases the owners worked in a factory while their wives or children were in charge of running the farm. Originally, it was the plan of most to work in a factory for awhile until they had enough money to buy up farms, but now the men are finding the factory work more desirable. They have a steady income, not dependent on the weather, and the work is easier, while making more money.

The married women and older girls often work in the sewing factories, either in Woodburn or Portland. In fact the Woodburn branch of Dennis Uniform Company was opened to take advantage of the Russian female workers who could not travel all the way to Portland. One Russian girl in her early twenties is the foreman of the factory and supervisory personnel on the premises. She instructs each worker on the use of her machine and keeps production in progress. She also puts in many extra hours at nights or on holidays redoing defective work or simply cleaning up. She is making the mortgage payments of her family's house and also has her own new car, T.V. telephone, phonograph and American

style clothes. Recently she flew to San Francisco where she spent a week's vacation with another co-worker.

All in all, the Russian families are doing well. What they make per week depends upon both the season and number of workers in the family, but even a small family probably makes at least \$300 per week with larger families making a great deal more. Some Old Believers are reported to have bank accounts of over \$10,000.

Some families are saving up to go to Canada or Alaska or to bring relatives from Brazil, but others do not have to work as hard as they do. Apparently, they are over-compensating for previous lack of financial security. Historical precedent of cycles of hard times also contributes to insecurity as does the nature of seasonal work. Even some such as one old woman works six days a week in the fields doing stoop labor because of the pay, even though her husband and daughter can adequately support the family by factory work and admonish her to stay home. Hard work becomes compulsive with these people who have labored energetically all their lives. Even the old people work in the fields with no thought of retirement.

Some Old Believers feel that the people will never stop working so hard even after they have paid off their debts for housing, etc. and have a little security in the bank because they are caught up with the acquisition of money to a greater extent than even Americans. Even though one family has \$18,000 in the bank, the children still have to work in the fields every day. There are a few families, however, in which the woman does not work, or works only occasionally since the husband feels he is capable of supporting the family alone.

Old Believer values place some limitations on the occupational choices of the Old Believers. Since they do not favor secular, public education even through high school; any position requiring a high school education or the professions are closed to them. Work which requires them to travel away from their families overnight is avoided. For example, one man wanted to become an earth moving machine operator, but could not be away from his village, especially during religious observances. Neither could he afford the initial training course fee of \$800. He is not permitted to take a job where he could not get his numerous religious holidays off.

Although the Old Believers are prospering in America and find their situation quite a bit easier than ever before, they think back to simpler times with nostalgia. "Even though the people didn't have so much money in Turkey, it was a better life," since they felt religious values were more closely adhered to. Now with cars and money, they are "falling away" from their religion, and thus Alaska and Canada are thought of by some, especially the Brazilians, as a haven from economic concerns and a return to a simpler life. Those who have already gone to Alaska find the economic realities of homesteading somewhat harsher than they expected. They are locating on a twelve hundred acre tract about eighteen miles from Homer on the Kenai peninsula where they have to clear the land, build their houses, while planting their gardens for the first winter's supplies. Those who first went with whole families

lived in tents and suffered a great deal. Now they advise others to send the men first to build the houses and save up at least \$4,000 before making the move. They have built a sawmill and hope to open a fish cannery. Some are reportedly returning to Oregon because of crop failures, but it remains to be seen whether they will remain in Alaska, or whether all the Brazilians will move to Canada and Alaska. Even if they choose not to go, they must still pay their monthly stipend for their homesteads. Most of the Turkish Old Believers have bought houses and farms and plan to extend their village in Woodburn and, thus, seem unlikely to move. There is also some talk of uniting their village, with the Brazilians building on land adjacent to the Turkish village. The Brazilians claim that if life is good in Alaska, the Turks will move to Alaska with them.

V. SOCIAL PATTERNS

Family Structure:

The family is considered the second most important social unit after the religious community. The nuclear family consists of the parents and their children, to which each member feels a strong sense of obligation and owes his allegiance. Moreover, the family rather than the individual comes first with everyone working for the good of the group. In addition, the family life is deeply rooted in religion which acts as a conservative force by submerging any desires the individual might have to be different or to change his position in life. The icon is the symbol of the centrality of religion in the home and can be seen in a corner of every room in the house. It is prayed to frequently, such as when entering the house and before meals. Religion has been the main factor in keeping the bonds of the family for several hundreds of years.

When the Old Believers were in Turkey, the family structure was altered somewhat because the men were away for six or seven months at a time for fishing. The culture was male dominated, but the women assumed a more responsible role in the family while the men were away. They were left alone in the village to fend for themselves and feared attacks by the Turks who surrounded their village and who once stabbed two Old Believers. At sunset all the women and children would retreat into their houses and lock the doors until morning came. Those men who worked nearby returned home for church on Sunday, while almost every man made it back for the big holidays. Also, when the men were away, the old women taught the boys to read the church books.

The harsh conditions of life in Turkey forced some of the young children to work far from home. One woman said she was ten years old when she was sent out to work. Another girl spent seven years in the city as a servant in a rich family's house where she was harshly mistreated and suffered loneliness, isolated from her village and family.

In the United States the Old Believer family structure changed considerably. The men are home every day since they work nearby, while the women have the protection of a man at home and help in disciplining the children.

In the family the parents have the highest place, considered as "king" and "queen". The children are kept in the background and rarely gain the center of attention. When the visitors are present, most of the children are chased out of the house. Even in families of ten or twelve, the children seem to find a quiet place to rest while the adults talk.

Moreover, the father commands complete obedience from every child. Whatever he asks has to be done right away and not a second later. Even the unmarried girls fear their father's authority and receive loud reprimands whenever they disobey him. For example, when he tells

his daughters, who are eighteen and twenty one and who work in a factory all day long, to be home at 8:30 P.M., they are not a second late. Thus, the father's authority is much more autocratic than in the usual American home.

Dating:

The girls and boys begin dating at an early age, usually around fourteen for the girls and fifteen or sixteen for the boys. This was true in both Turkey and the United States, although some couples married earlier in Turkey. Usually the young people gathered informally and socialized every Sunday and on holidays in Turkey. But after they came to New Jersey, they lived too far apart to continue the Sunday gathering. After they moved to Oregon the ownership of cars by most of the young and even by some of the girls made the young quite restless and no longer content to stay at home on Sundays, although it allowed the young to free themselves from the village, be alone on dates and amuse themselves at drive-in movies or in the city.

Instead of gathering in the village, meetings now take place in the public park socializing with the Brazilians before attending the afternoon movie. The youth of these groups get along better than the older people, but they still consider themselves "very different from the others." The Brazilians could hardly understand when the Turkish Old Believers spoke Russian and embarrassed them about it. One girl said that her husband and she used to speak English until he could understand her Russian. In addition, the Brazilians poked so much fun at the Turkish girls' dresses because they were a little different that the Turkish girls changed the style somewhat to make them more acceptable to the Brazilians. With time, however, and the desire for more mates of marriageable age, the two groups began to make friends.

However, the Turkish also blamed the Brazilians for ruining their Sunday gatherings because they were stricter about not dancing, thereby making the Turkish youth uncomfortable dancing in their presence.

Since many of the girls now have their own cars, they can seek out the boys on their own instead of sitting home and waiting for the boys to visit as they once did. As one older married girl said, "Years ago the girls were shy and ran from the boys; today the girls chase the boys."

Even with this new independence, the older girls were worried that they might not marry since they did not like those Brazilian boys who were available. Also, it was reputed that there were some thirty boys for seventy girls. To change this situation, one girl sometimes wished that she belonged to some other religion, so that she could marry whom-ever she wanted, while some of the other older girls realized that "the boys were not going to suddenly come from the sky," and wanted to go somewhere they could meet other boys. If a girl brought home a Russian Orthodox or American boy, her mother might scream at her right in front of the boy's face and not allow her to go out.

One girl said that the reason the Old Believer parents encouraged the girls to get married so young was because at that time they were not

so choosey and would accept the Old Believer boys who were available.

In addition, most of the older girls saw no sense in getting married so young and having children right away, but most desire eventual marriage. One girl wanted to travel and see the world before getting married.

Engagement:

The engagement of the couple was different in Turkey from the way it is in America. In Turkey, everyone knew about the couple's relationship, and the young people did not try to keep it a secret. For their engagement the boy gave the girl a ring, and the couple went out together for a few months, a year or more.

In the United States the couple keep their love for one another a secret from everyone except their families because they are afraid of embarrassment if they break up after they have announced their plans to marry. The custom is for the boy to give her one of his woven belts and for her to give him her scarf or her woven belt. Usually, the couple does not get engaged without the family's approval. The engagement time has been shortened, and on the last week before the wedding without making any previous announcements, the girl tells her boss that she will be out from work the next week because she is getting married. This comes as somewhat of a surprise to everyone since the girl never even mentioned her engagement. Many of the American girls at work find this custom strange and regret not being able to make a party for the girl.

Marriage:

The couples are free to choose their own partner within certain limits; they must be of the same religion and must not be too closely related. Most important is that both parties should belong to the same religion. When one person comes from another group, he must undergo re-baptism. For example, one woman was a popovtsy Old Believer, but because she was marrying a bezpopovtsy Old Believer, she was re-baptized and became a bezpopovtsy. The girl must be an Old Believer, although the boy can be of another religion and be re-baptized into the Old Believer religion as was one Russian Orthodox.

Once there was an objection by the girl's father since the boy did not belong to the same "sobor" or church district. In this case, the boy's sobor worshipped only metal icons, while the girl's sobor worshipped only wooden ones. She refused to marry him unless he joined her sobor, contrary to the usual practice of the girl joining the boy's congregation. Neither party wanted to hurt his parents by changing his sobor. It was not so much the children who were concerned over the difference in sobors, but their parents who have discussed the controversy with each other many times, but without much success. If neither side changes his sobor, as now seems to be the case, the couple will not marry. In addition, the parents on both sides have strongly threatened their children if they change. One father told his daughter that she would no longer be his daughter, and he would make her

children sit alone and eat on separate plates if she changed sobor.

Sometimes the parents pick out a candidate for their daughter, but she is not forced to marry him. One girl was vehemently opposed to her parent's choice and declared that she could not even stand to look at him no less marry him.

When the couple is seriously considering marriage, the boy tells the girl that he will bring his parents to her house. However, some avid lovers come on their own initiative without the girl's consent. The boy's father stands outside the door of the girl's house and loudly proclaims three times: "Lord Jesus Christ son of God, deliver us!" If the girl is very young, the family might shut off all the lights and pretend they are going to bed. However, when the boy's father says the above six times, the girl's father is obligated to open the door.

If the girl is older, seventeen or eighteen, her father usually opens the door right away. Sometimes the girl does not like the boy and hides in the house. One girl hid under a pile of clothes while the boy looked everywhere for her. The boy and his parents may return many times before they give up hope of having the girl. On repeated visits the girl's parents may say that their daughter is not at home. However, when the couple desires the marriage, the boy's parents are welcomed into the house right away. The young couple retire to another room, while the parents talk about the two children. The boy's father reassures the girl's parents that they will take good care of the girl, feed her, clothe her and handle her just like their own. After this talk, the boy's parents leave while the girl's parents talk it over with the other relatives and the girl.

On the second night, the boy's parents return and talk about the children again. If the parents are in agreement, they all pray together in the house. The number of visits can vary from one to four. After the prayer "out come the glasses" and good wishes are toasted.

One Week Before the Wedding:

It is the custom for the bride's girl friends to come to her house every evening for one week before the wedding to sing and sew for her. (The Harbins have two weeks.) These days before the wedding are for the bride-to-be's enjoyment. Some girls who are very young at marriage do not have their trousseau ready; thus, the other girls help her sew pillowcases and towels and embroider cloths for around the icons and walls. The Brazilian girls have been sewing since they were seven years old and usually have their trousseau completed before the wedding. In the end, the bride will take all the things she has sewn and decorate her mother-in-law's house with them.

Most girls usually look forward to singing for the bride. However, some girls do not like to sing and sew for a girl who they feel is too young to be getting married. Also, a new girl who just arrived from New Jersey had a difficult time getting girl friends to sew for her since she had not been in Oregon long enough to have made good friends with the girls.

In addition to singing and sewing, the elder visits the bride during the week, and in front of everyone present, he asks the couple if they love each other and are marrying of their own free will.

Day Before the Wedding:

The day before the wedding, the bride and all her possessions are sold in a joking way to the bridegroom. The bride's friends come to her house and sing for her and her mother. Later in the day, the groom comes with his friends and barter for the bride. In the evening, the bride's mother makes a dinner, "divishnu" for her daughter in which the girl's family, godmother and bridal party are invited.

Wedding Ceremony:

The groom buys the dress and whatever else the bride will need to wear at the wedding ceremony which is held in his church on the first day and in her church on the second. The unmarried people are not allowed to attend the ceremony.

During the ceremony, the elder prays for the couple, and the bride's hair is divided into two long braids which are tied together at the ends and looped around her head. The groom's parents place a cap, "shashmura" over the bride's hair and then put a kerchief over it to symbolize her marriage. She must always after wear her hair in the same style and not show her hair in public. Many of the younger girls regret this practice.

Towards the end of the ceremony, the parents from each side present the couple with an icon and Bible so that the couple will remember God. The marriage license for all the Old Believers is signed by one man who acts as the official representative of the group while the ceremony is actually performed by the real elder, as they feel the government would not understand their yearly change of elders.

Wedding Reception:

The celebration and feast after the ceremony is sponsored by the boy's family since the girl is new in their family. Everyone attends a big feast at which a table is usually set up in front of the doors for the bridal couple to sit at and receive gifts and good wishes.

Some of the more Americanized girls were embarrassed to attend their cousin's wedding because they did not wear long skirts anymore and were not friendly with the other Russian girls.

Residence After Marriage:

After the wedding the couple lives at the boy's house and remains there until: (1) the couple has their first child, or (2) the daughter and mother-in-law have a big quarrel, or (3) the next brother in the house marries, making it overcrowded, or (4) the couple has enough money to buy a house of their own, or (5) until the boy's parents ask them to leave.

The course taken depends on the individual family situation and may differ for each son in the family. For instance, in one family the first married son lived with the family for over a year, but the second married son was always spending money and buying new cars; thus the father "kicked him" out of the house right away to teach him to live on his own.

The relations between the mother-in-law and the bride vary. In some cases the mother-in-law makes a slave out of the daughter-in-law. The daughter-in-law must get up at 3:00 A.M., cook all the meals and clean the house, besides sometimes working in the factory or fields all day long. All the earnings of the couple go to the parents who give the couple \$2.00 or \$3.00 allowance per week.

In other cases, the mother-in-law is quite good to the couple. She leaves the couple alone, allows them to save all their earnings, does all the cooking, babysits for the daughter-in-law and makes life so easy for the couple that they do not like to leave.

The situation is usually aggravated when the two groups inter-marry. One Brazilian girl told this writer that her Turkish mother-in-law "was meaner than the Turks who were in the village." Although she found it difficult to live with a "foreign" mother-in-law, she stoically said, "I must get used to it." In another case the girl did not mind doing all the cooking and cleaning until her first baby arrived. Then it became difficult for her to do everything, although her mother-in-law still expected it of her. When she was alone she cried and cried over her mother-in-law and hoped to be settled soon on their own farm. Sometimes a drunken father-in-law will also cause her difficulty.

Despite all these difficulties, couples usually live with the boy's parents for about a year until they can afford their own quarters. One Americanized Old Believer claimed that "couples live with in-laws because they are afraid that people will say that they couldn't get along with their relatives if they chose to live alone. I don't care anymore what people say, and I'm going to begin thinking of myself." Many Old Believer girls feel this way, but are not ready to change as radically.

Birth:

One of the reasons that the Old Believers have very large families is because it is against their religion to accept birth control, although such practices are known to the young wives, but they are afraid to go against the religion. One young mother told this writer "I didn't want to have a baby right away, but it is against my religion to take a pill."

In Turkey, the pressures were great to produce many children to keep up with the high mortality rate. For example, one woman who had twenty children (twins and triplets) had only three sons who lived. Whenever one asked a woman how many children she had, she always included her deceased children in the count.

Although the infant mortality rate is still higher than the general American population, it has decreased since moving to Oregon due to better medical facilities, diet, sanitation and standard of living in this country. Children are living longer and the families are getting larger. Thus, the parents are beginning to become more aware of the health problems and are seeking medical aid for their children through early immunization, blood tests, treatment of parasites, dental care and regular check-ups. Ear infections and upper respiratory infections are not prevalent among the Old Believer children.

Birth Practices:

The majority of Old Believer women give birth at home. The midwives are usually older women, with three or four women receiving on the job training. It is illegal to have midwives deliver in Oregon; thus, by helping to upgrade their methods as some public health officials have contemplated, one would in actuality be encouraging the Old Believers to break the law. As a result, the public health nurses have not interfered in this area.

It is not against the Old Believer religion to give birth in the hospital, but they prefer home delivery and "are not very eager to adopt our ways of life" as one public health nurse put it.

Slowly, however, some of the women have sought attention at the hospital whenever there were signs of danger before delivery. But the number of hospital births is still very small. If a child is born with some kind of defect, it is not considered the fault of the mother, but if it happens after birth, the responsibility for the defect is the mother's.

Religion and Birth:

After the baby is born, no one is allowed to enter the house until the priest has said a prayer over the mother and others who have assisted at the birth, called a "presenie." One woman who gave birth at the hospital forgot to have the elder bless her immediately upon returning. The people in the village began to worry about her health and said that it was not good to forget the prayers. Somehow they had to find a way to adjust their old practice with the new situation.

Another Old Believer custom is that seven families are supposed to celebrate and pray if the baby is healthy or mourn and pray if the baby is not. These families consist of relatives and neighbors.

On the eighth day after the child's birth, the parents, usually the father picks out a name for the baby from a religious book which lists three or four names for each day of the year. This day will be the person's name's day and celebrated each year like a birthday. People will pray for him in church and give him sweets and fruit for good luck.

On the eighth day the baby may also be baptized. One godparent, "chrosna" is chosen who takes the baby to church at about 5:30 A.M.

to be baptized. The baby is immersed in a pan of cold water, head and all, being circled three times in the direction of the sun. The direction is very important because if someone is baptized in the other direction, it means that he is turned towards the devil. The baptism of a baby signifies the acceptance of a new member into the Old Believer religion. It is a joyous occasion. Usually the family makes a dinner for the close relatives afterwards. Later friends and relatives come to congratulate the parents and grandparents.

Forty days after the childbirth, the elder says a prayer over the mother so that she may reenter the church, but she stands in the vestibule before that time.

Public Health Nursing:

A grant from the children's bureau in September 1968 set up a visiting health service and clinic twice monthly for the care of pregnant mothers and babies. No appointment is necessary because there is a problem of time scheduling, and a slight fee of fifty cents per person is charged to help the Old Believers see the necessity of paying for treatment elsewhere. The number of people who come to the clinic is unpredictable, with sometimes up to thirty or only four.

The area of main interest is home visits in which the nurse with the aid of an interpreter check up on the status of the pregnant women. The difficulties of home visits include the problem of language and the reluctance of the people to express their needs and desires to an outsider. As one public health nurse said, "It takes a lot of time for their suspiciousness of us to be removed." At present about ten or twelve mothers are receiving prenatal care, but there are many more who have not accepted any help yet.

The public health nurses are also concerned about the pregnant women who remain in the fields working up to the eighth or ninth month of their pregnancy. In Turkey or Brazil the pregnant woman did not work in the fields at all, but because of the debts the Old Believers have incurred in this country, every member of the family is put under a great strain.

The problem of nutrition, especially for the pregnant woman during the lenten periods has likewise been a concern of the clinic. The clinic is attempting to recommend food substitutes for the pregnant mother through public lectures with an interpreter and free literature with pictures. At one lecture, the Old Believer women were told that the elder would exempt the pregnant mothers from food restrictions during lent, but the mothers did not believe this to be true. In addition, studies are being done on the diet of the Old Believers to try and find out what foods the Old Believers can eat that do not go against their religion and at what times during the year they may eat these foods.

The clinic is also concerned with the three or four cases of illegitimacy among the Old Believers known to this clinic.

The public health nurses are trying to have the Old Believers follow "our way of living," but face a great cultural and language barrier. Moreover, the Old Believers are very independent people and resent the interest which many public agencies have taken in them to try and change their way of life.

Child Rearing and Care:

The new born baby is welcomed and treated lovingly by everyone in the family. He is considered a "gift from God." An older sister told this writer that "no matter how many children mama has we will always love them." Somehow the large numbers of children around the house is considered more of a blessing to the parents than an economic burden. However, some of the women would prefer having small families but do not have much of a choice in controlling the number of children they have. Unlike American women who might have careers, the Old Believer women's role is mainly that of the housewife and mother even though she may work outside the home. Her duty is to procreate children.

Early Child Care:

During the early months of the baby's life, the mother swaddles the baby so that he will not scratch or kick himself. Every so often the straps are removed, and the baby is free to kick and play. When the baby is big enough so that he will not harm himself, the straps are removed altogether.

The baby's diet consists mainly of milk the first year; then pabulum and wheat until the baby can eat food at the table. Many of the mothers breast feed their children up to two or three years of age, and it is not uncommon to see a mother breastfeed her baby wherever she might be, such as in the fields or in the presence of a roomful of people. When the young mother is not breast feeding her baby, she may choose to continue working in the factory, leaving her baby with an elderly woman in the colony.

Everyone shows great affection for the baby, sitting it on his lap, playing with it, and squeezing it lovingly. In one family, the girls told this writer that their brother was the first boy after ten girls and "daddy spoiled him by giving him whatever he wanted." However, the adults assume first priority in the house, not the children who are recognized at certain times and then put back into their place.

While the children are growing up, the parents give them a great deal of freedom to crawl, run and make noise around the house. Children are in and out of the house all day. Young children run into a room, fall down, and pick themselves up, cry on their mother's lap or receive a hug or pat on the shoulder several times during the day.

The care of the children is organized into a sibling system in which the eldest daughter, who is called the "principal" is next in authority after her parents. All the younger sisters envy the position of the "principal" since she does very little work around the house and can boss anyone of her younger brothers and sisters. After the eldest, each

child has responsibility and authority over the next younger child.

A great deal of responsibility is fostered on some of the young. For instance, one young Brazilian girl is left home alone to care for her five year old brother, although she is afraid to stay home alone. She feeds and dresses herself and her brother, and cooks and cleans around the house. In another house, a four year old child cares for the infant in the family.

Childhood is not considered a time exclusively for play in the Old Believer families. As two eight and nine year olds explained, "all we do is take care of babies, wash the floor and cook." One continued, "when I am home, I do not have enough time to wash my hands." At that time there were two families comprising twenty-two people living in her house as one of the families had just arrived from Brazil and was staying with their relatives until they found a place to live. The young girls had to get up early in the morning to help cook and bake the meals which were being served in three shifts. Then the girls went out to the fields. Almost all the girls learned how to cook by helping their mothers.

At the main meals, the younger children sit together at one table, while the older children and parents sit at another table. It is an honor to be able to sit with one's parents.

Discipline and Early Training:

Early training includes concern for both the moral and spiritual development of the child. One mother felt that "it is important to teach the baby right from the beginning so that he will not be selfish or fresh." Moreover, "the parents should bring the child to church as soon as it can stand because by that time it already understands," continued another mother. The children learn by watching what the others do in church and learning to pray at home.

Ways of disciplining the children at home include yelling, spanking them and rapping them on the head in a manner a great deal rougher than found in most American families. The children are somewhat accustomed to this rough discipline. One girl complained, "I dislike the way the children are treated by the mothers." Another very sensitive, young mother commented, "Even though it may hurt your heart, you must be mean to your children sometimes to teach them what is right. You must not smile or let them know that it hurts you to holler at them. Then a little later you can let them know that you still love them and play with them."

The children are well disciplined right from infancy, thus needing very little care. By the first year, they are trained to stand up on their own. For example, when a child fell down on the grass, her mother told her to "stand up" which she did. No help was offered. In another case, the father showed his daughters, who were nine and ten, how they were to hoe in the garden after he went to work. During the afternoon, the girls worked in the fields unsupervised, while their mother worked in the house. They knew what had to be done and did it.

When they are hungry they fend for themselves by getting food from the house, fruit stored in the attic or growing in the field.

On holidays which occurred almost once a week during the summer, the young children (six - thirteen years) were on their own all day long. They walked along the city streets, went to the park, stopped for pop and candy at the store, watched T. V. at their teacher's house and visited other American friends. They usually did not go home for meals because they did not like to see their parents drunk on holidays or want to have to take care of the younger children.

Although the children worked hard six days a week in the fields, they never lost their humor and spirit. They loved to play and joke as much as any other children. One little girl said, "I love to play all day long and not work." When the children are in the colony, they find time to play on holidays and on early summer evenings. They play such things as: house, "dog," jacks, ride bikes up and down the road, swing in back of their yard or play together on their porches and in front of their houses. All the children enjoy walking through the berry fields at the end of the colony picking some juicy berries or climbing the apple tree. They are very proud of their gardens and farms and often offered this writer some fresh fruit and vegetables.

The young Brazilian girls lived nearer to the town and had more opportunity to visit our house than the Turkish children who lived further from town. Whenever the girls came to the door, they would ring the bell and then hide behind the door or begin to run away. They were terribly shy and had to be coaxed to enter our house. Once they were inside they became more comfortable and told very humorous stories about people they knew. One man in particular they described all the time, "Peter the Drunkard." He chased them, threatened others with a knife, walked drunk through the streets, scared children, never went to church, drank on Holy Saturday, frightened his own son and was not afraid of the policeman or anyone. Besides telling stories they liked to dance. What they enjoyed best of all was playing our fast Russian dance records and imitating Russian Cossack dancers. They first made sure my husband wasn't looking and closed the drapes before lifting their skirts and twirling around to the music. Once in awhile they integrated a "do-si-do" which they had learned in school. It was against their religion to dance, but the little girls told us about the times the older girls put blankets in front of all the windows and danced around the room, too.

Old Age:

The colony helps support and care for the elderly by providing church land and a trailer to live in. The grandparents prefer living in their own house because they dislike all the noisy grandchildren. Also, the old people receive support from the many children and relatives they have. In turn, the grandparents help care for and teach their grandchildren. During the winters, the old men spend hours reading through church books and interpreting them for their children and grandchildren. There is a sense of obligation even among the most distant relatives to care for the older people, thus, in most families avoiding welfare.

In most cases the older people remain economically independent through their own hard work and initiative. Some of the older couples may help pick berries and beans stooping for long hours in the hot sun six days a week or keeping pace with a moving truck while cutting broccoli and other crops. Hard work is something these people have been used to all their lives and continue as long as they are physically capable.

They maintain their membership in the church and bow just as vigorously as the younger members and stand through the long church services for every holiday.

These aged people have ambivalent feelings toward Turkey and America. They watch the young who are rapidly changing while they themselves remain most resistant to change. It is difficult for them because they are not learning the English language or associating with other people outside the colony; this is especially true of the women. The old are trying to hold on to a way of life which the young have already begun to reject. The bridge between the generations is becoming increasingly wider because of the resistance from both sides to compromise in any of their ways.

Retirement as Americans know it is really nonexistent. The reasons for this are varied. The Old Believers do not travel great distances away from the colony and, thus, their desire for travel in retirement is unlikely. Economically, they are not really able to indulge in expensive leisure time activities, such as trips to Florida. They do not spend time in leisurely reading, watching T. V. or playing cards or bingo or other similar activities, and, thus, retirement has few lures for them. Also, by wasting time indulging in leisurely pleasures except for holidays is considered somewhat sinful, and, therefore, they continue to work as long as possible and pride themselves on their physical fitness and self-supporting abilities.

In conclusion, while Americans have segmented their life span into definite periods during which specific activities are followed i.e. youth-education and play; adulthood, work and child rearing with some leisure; old age, retirement; the Old Believers have less variety to the activities associated with the different age groups. There is some distinction made between youth and maturity, but mainly only in the pursuit of pleasure. There is little distinction between adulthood and old age regarding their main activities except whatever falls within the limitations of physical debilitation.

Relations Among Relatives:

Relatives are not as important to the Old Believers in Oregon as they were in Turkey. "Here in the colony the people are no longer like brothers and sisters; they want to work and have money in the bank," one young man said. The people have broken off their close ties with their relatives and some rarely speak to each other or visit or help one another. "My mother does not know the inside of her brother's house; relatives are bullshit," said one Old Believer. Another man could not get any of his relatives to help him when his wife went into the hospital.

Relatives are always arguing and feuding about almost anything. For example, two brothers fought over a knife that one of them held to cut some bread and it ended with one of the brothers being jailed for assault with a deadly weapon. He was released after refusal to press charges.

On the other hand, family ties are still extremely strong. For instance, one Brazilian spent seven hundred dollars for a twenty eight day visit to his aged mother in Australia. In addition, relations between cousins are very strong. It is hard to generalize about the type of relationships that exist among relatives, but it is on the decline since the Old Believers have come to America. The isolation of the Old Believers in Turkey and their simpler way of life may have contributed to a closer family structure than their new way of life in America is doing.

Terms Used for Family and Relatives:

Female

Mama - mother
Toetin - aunt (any female relative)
Toetka - female (non-relative)

Male

Tatin - father
Dyadin - uncle (any male relative)
Dyadka - male (non-relative)

Younger and older brothers and sisters are all called by their first names.

All cousins are referred to as either "my sister" or "my brother."

Family Stability:

The family has been quite stable among the Old Believers, but is changing steadily as the younger people become more assimilated into the United States. An example of a typical Old Believer family would be a large family in obedience to their father, keeping all the holidays and fasts, wearing Old Believer dress, and attending church regularly. In contrast is an Old Believer family whose children have abandoned the Old Believer religious traditions, married outside the religion, work on holidays, do not keep the fasts, have a T. V., radio and telephone and live far away from the colony without any concern for family or relatives. Both these types of families exist side by side in the colony. The strict, disciplined, stable family and the weak, permissive, unstable family. Usually there is a great rift created between the two types of families and association between their children is forbidden. The permissive parents are blamed for allowing their daughters to wear American dress, stay with Americans, and not attend church and act as a bad example for the others in the colony. The people have cursed these permissive parents, wished their house burnt and bad luck for their children.

These young people who have begun to change have often found life and criticism of them so difficult in the colony that they have run away temporarily or permanently. Some of the girls don't care what the people say and even when the elder tries to talk to them, one girl was known to say, "you'll go to heaven and I'll go to hell, so what?" Girls have run away together to Salem, Portland, New Jersey, changed their dress, cut their hair, attended other churches and tried to live outside the group for awhile. There are several reasons why the young are leaving besides criticism of them. The American influence of customs, especially on the young is divisive of the family and is one of the biggest problems. The young people's exposure to the American culture has created new desires in them, such as, a desire for clothes, money and independence. They are choosing to live differently from their parents and grandparents and colony. The contrast between Turkish and American life is so great that the young feel it is unlikely that they will ever return to the simpler existence they once had in Turkey. As one Old Believer stated, "After you see the life and people in America, it is difficult to return to the simple life of Turkey. There we were alone and used to sit in the village. In my fourteen years in Turkey I visited the city about three times. Here we are in town in a few minutes."

Other reasons why the young are leaving is over the individuals disequilibrium resulting from his attempt to live in two conflicting cultures, the one in which he was born and the one in which he suddenly was transplanted. This constant shifting back and forth from the Old Believer to American culture can be excruciating for the individual. For example, changes in one's dress, language and behavior may occur several times a day. This writer can still remember her first meeting with an assimilated Old Believer. No one would have thought she was different from any other American girl, but was I surprised when I saw her parents traditional Russian garb. She spent so much time in her shop because she could not take all the conflict and gossip around the house. "People in my village just talk and talk about one another - even making up lies." They don't give anyone privacy; people tell me things about myself before I can even figure out how they knew."

Other young people are leaving the colony because they are tired of all the ritual, prohibitions against amusements, tedium of regimen of work and restrictions on life style.

Those young people who are disgusted with the life of their elders and dream of running away or marrying outside the group, realize it will not be easy for them. "I am always thinking, I am fed up with the Old Believer life and can never marry an Old Believer, but I know that I cannot make it outside of the group. I am always haunted with ideas of running away with Martha (her friend). I even thought of not returning from San Francisco (her week's vacation). The young spirits rise and fall as they think of ways of escaping their situation or trying to live with it.

One girl who decided to live in New Jersey with another Old Believer girl after trying to live in the village in Oregon told this writer, "I know it will be lonely in New Jersey, but there is nothing here for me

to stay for. I came to Oregon to please my mother, but I haven't any friends here even after two years. Usually Americans don't like Russians because of all their holidays and most of them already have had friends for years." The girls' mothers cried all night long and for days afterward about their daughters flight to New Jersey. One of the girls summed up the situation this way: "What is good for me is not good for my parents, and what is good for my parents is not good for me. My parents do not like the way I am living, but I feel it has to be this way."

The young people are casting aside their group security and obligations for their right to be independent. The individuals desires are beginning to displace family and group concerns. In contrast to many youthful American rebels who are breaking home ties to join communal groups, the young Old Believer rebels are breaking away to achieve a more individual and independent life outside the group.

The young think of New Jersey as a place to return to or escape to because they feel there is more to do in New Jersey and many more Russian people are there. "Here we can only go to Salem or Portland, go shopping and go to a restaurant. But, we do not know anyone and it is not so much fun and anyway, the Russians here are more Americanized and do not sing and dance like in New Jersey."

These last few statements reveal the young Old Believers loneliness and disillusionment with the American culture and people and their hope for good times and friendship in New Jersey or wherever they feel they can find it. As they abandon their own culture they are clinging to the materialism of the American culture, but realize the emptiness of their existence in their new lives. Perhaps they will remain in this materialistic stage only during their transition from the Old Believer to the American culture, or maybe they will choose another level of existence later on, but it is difficult to tell at this time. Their lack of education now impedes their involvement in the more sophisticated aspects of the American culture. Some of the young seem to be responsive to other ways of life besides the American. For instance, "I would like to live in Greece," said one girl, "because the Greek people know how to live. They have time to visit one another and they aren't running around all the time." Their pace of life and friendliness had appealed to her.

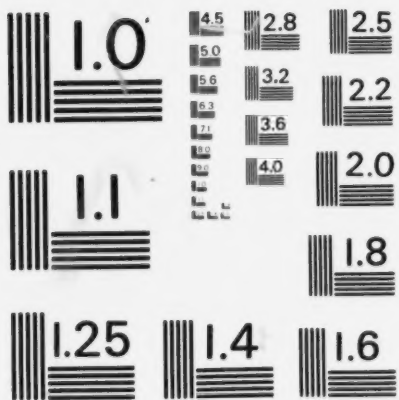
As the young attempt to run away, some parents fear the loss of their children and, thus, become very overly protective. For instance, one father refused to allow his twenty year old daughter to come and go freely. His daughter became even more rebellious and began to make up lies about what she was doing. She would tell her parents that she was going to visit an Old Believer girl friend when in actuality she had a date with an American boy. This break in strong family relationships due to the lack of understanding between parents and children seriously endangers the retention of Old Believer values.

The instability of the family not only results from the exodus of the young adults who find the pressure of living in two cultures too difficult, but also from the exodus of the adults. A group of three men

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MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A

who were having difficulties following the American laws regarding driving left their wives and children one day and went off to New York. The inability of some of these adults to understand and follow the new ways of the American culture has resulted in their high consumption of alcohol which in turn creates still another unstable factor in the family.

Where Americans can turn to other trained adults for special assistance, the Old Believers depend upon their children who are bilingual and act as liaisons between the Old Believer colony and American culture. In a culture where the children occupy a low position the adults are not too happy to turn to them for help. The children are suddenly occupying a superior position in the family because of their facility in the English language and for their knowledge of the American culture. The dependence has upset the balance of the family and reduced the authority of the adults over the young. In conclusion, the bilingualism and greater familiarity with the American culture of the young contrasts with the monolingualism of the adults and results in a revision of the family structure and an uneasiness between the young and old.

American Influence on Old Customs:

No less than six years ago the Old Believers would have found it difficult to believe in the affluence and the availability of many types of products in twentieth century America. Since they have come to the United States they have taken advantage of many of our technological advances in their daily lives and gradually are desiring more and more of our products. To the older Old Believers who have lived most of their lives without many of these modern conveniences, they feel it is not necessary for the men to work long hours for personal comfort and not even have enough time left for God and prayer. The center of man's life used to be his religion, but in America there are too many distractions that are taking man further away from God. For example, the old Believers have built new houses with modern appliances, such as stoves, refrigerators, washing machines, freezers, etc. unlike they have ever had before. When they cannot buy a washing machine or freezer, they use the public laundromat or rent a food locker. Instead of spending long hours in prayer, the men would rather work to pay off their bills. In addition, to acquiring these essential household items, the Old Believers are purchasing many other kinds of products for their recreation and leisure. Many families have bought cars, campers, rowboats, motorboats, gas lawn mowers and sewing machines. A few families even have T. V.s and telephones which are outlawed by the religion. Many teenagers own transistor radios, cameras and phonographs while the younger children have bikes and swing sets in the yard. The furniture in most houses is more utilitarian than decorative. A couch and some straight backed kitchen chairs occupy the living room, a modern bed and a trunk fill the bedroom, some rugs with secular or religious scenes and inexpensive framed pictures hang on the walls with the bride's embroidery. The older girls are very much attracted to American style clothes, hairdos, cosmetics and jewelry. They all desire to wear short skirts and be like Americans. Although the girls are not supposed to dress in American style clothes, or give their hair any special treatment, they have begun to change.

The Old Believers are replacing their handmade blouses with jersey shirts and store bought blouses during the week. The youth are wearing American style clothing to school, and the really Americanized girls have cut their hair, curled it, dried it with a hairdryer, and have even gone to the beauty salon. The young boys are wearing American levis and belts to school and hiding their woven belt or wearing it under their shirt. During the first summer, the girls were embarrassed to be seen in a bathing suit, but today a few of them are trying on two piece bathing suits. Pants are forbidden for girls, but when two girls flew to San Francisco for their vacation they brought along a modern pants suit.

As long as the youth desire to be like their American peers and the adults are enticed by exposure to American goods, it seems likely they will continue to take advantage of more and more of the material wealth in America.

VI. EDUCATION

Historical Background:

Most of the adults lacked formal education. They lived in remote villages with poor communication and transportation, and, therefore, never had the opportunity to go to school. However, almost all the Old Believer men were literate since most learned Turkish by themselves or in the army and learned to read and write church slavonic from their parents. Only in 1955 was a Turkish school set up in which grades one through five were taught, but allowing only the Turkish language to be spoken while punishing the Old Believer children for speaking Russian. Many of the other children were too old to attend the Turkish school and have never learned to read or write in any language (Samsonoff 1962:3).

In China, Manchuria and Brazil the children attended a Russian school where they learned to read and write. In Harbin, they attended a Catholic missionary school which taught them in Russian.

Religious Education:

The most important education to the Old Believers is religious education which is carried out by the family and at special Russian schools which meet after public school.

Usually the father teaches his son to read the church books; however, if he is unable, the grandfather, uncle or elder woman might teach the boys. Every night the elder listens to the child read the slavonic church books, correcting him when in error. Each session might last two or three hours for a ten year old boy.

The first book, the Azbuka contains grammar and exercises on how to read church slavonic, preparing them for the other books. It also contains some prayers and explanation of the sign of the cross. When this book has been fully mastered, the boy begins the second book, the Psalter containing twenty chapters. This book, too, must be well mastered since the children must prepare for reading from it in church. The third book, Chisonik explains the structure of the church services. Once the student has completed these three books, he is able to read almost any book such as the Evangeliaer the Gospels or the Commentary of St. John Chrysostum which they consider to be very important. The Bible is not the only holy book for them; every church book is considered sacrosanct.

The family does not usually consider it as necessary for the girls to learn how to read, but some have taught themselves to read after having orally memorized biblical passages. Many girls are taught the Azbuka only. Some girls have learned to read with the help of elder relatives. The interest of the girls seems to be one of the determining factors in whether they learn to read, although they are not forced to learn as are the boys who are expected to prepare for leadership in the church service.

Another way the children learn about religion is around the family table when they ask questions or are told religious tales or during Bible readings which may take place every day, depending on the family. One mother explained, "My mother taught me and I am teaching you, and you will teach your children." This education by the family begins at a very young age, as soon as they can understand. The family is in fact, the main institution for preserving the religion. If they do not learn church slavonic at home, they have great difficulty in understanding what goes on in church since the language is different from their everyday Russian. Thus, the church service itself is not the main educational agent in religious education.

Religious education school meets every day during the school year after the regular school. One man is selected as school teacher and is paid ten cents per hour per student. All the children read out loud at once, starting at whatever part of the book they are up to. Somehow the teacher is able to detect whenever someone makes a mistake and makes him re-read that line. When the student has memorized a paragraph, he recites it for the teacher who then allows him to go on. Some girls go to these schools, but mainly they are for the boys.

The Old Believers consider this religious education to be the only worthwhile education because they find little religious merit in the public school curriculum. To them education should be for building their moral character.

Secular Education:

Secular education is also a threat to their religious beliefs, or so they feel, and discourage the children from going beyond the eighth grade. If they go on to high school, they will want to go to college and become a professional and not be interested in the religion, they feel. It is considered prideful to attempt to become better than anyone else.

The Old Believers have a religious prohibition against associating with outsiders, especially non-Christians. They are afraid the children will begin to learn about the other religions and be swayed toward them. Neither do they want the children exposed to other sinful influences, such as dancing, short gym clothes and singing during lent and other bad habits. They are opposed to the teaching of science since it conflicts with their religious explanations.

Moreover, their religious holidays conflict with the school days. Every time they take off for religious holidays, they are threatened with truancy. One must understand that these holidays constitute about forty school days a year and interrupt the regular school system. The public schools are complaining because they cannot fit the children into the American school calendar.

Presently there is a court hearing on the issue of public education vs religious freedom of the Old Believers. The principals of the public schools feel caught between the Old Believers and the Board of Education. As one school principal stated, "I hate to see them lose

their culture, yet I am under law to make sure the Russians go to school. Our school spends five thousand dollars extra of federal funds for special teachers for the Russians. When the Russians take off for so many holidays, it hurts. "Even if the school allows them to take off for all their holidays," commented another principal, "they still will take off during other days of the year." Some begin school a week late because of farm work; girls may stay home to babysit, and one boy's family picked him up from school by truck to go pick pumpkins with the family during school hours. In regard to their religion it was stated by one principal that "if people really believe, they will not lose their faith by coming to school on holidays." What he didn't realize was that the Old Believers see the matter quite differently. It is not enough to believe, but to fail to observe the holiday is a sin. Religious belief cannot be separated from ritual. The principal's main difficulties as he admitted himself were (1) a lack of understanding of the culture and (2) why people do things in different ways. He would like to talk with the Old Believer men, but he doesn't know how to overcome the language barrier. His lack of understanding is not ameliorated by the Old Believer reticence to talk to outsiders.

The Old Believers in court are represented by an Old Believer rite Catholic priest, a public health nurse who has been working closely with the Old Believers, and a private citizen who has also been assisting them. One of the principals was annoyed that the Catholic priest was acting as the Old Believer representative, and would rather have seen the elder of the colony speak out, but he does not know how to speak English. The Catholic priest is determined to see that the Old Believers receive permission to take off from school for every one of their holidays, while the private citizen seems prone to having the Old Believers accept American rules regarding education. He planned to speak to the judge in clarification of the Old Believer religion, although apparently he didn't understand much about their religion and had never been to their church service. He told this writer that "you have to understand the Old Believers had a lot of trouble about religion in Russia and were generally of the lower classes." He added that he does not counsel them in his living room when they come for help, but rather on his patio or his garage, as they are unclean and "offensive."

The school system is geared to the English speaking American student, even in Woodburn where there is a large Russian and Mexican population. One librarian refused to buy foreign language books for the school, saying that they want them to speak only English. In the classroom, the children are prohibited from speaking any other language than English since the teacher does not know Russian. In some classes, however, the teachers have made an effort to teach the rest of the class some Russian words. One teacher has even learned the language, but the majority of teachers have not learned any Russian since 1954 when the Old Believers started coming. Some Old Believer children are discouraged by the language problem. No help is available from parents at home since they do not know the language.

Also, the younger children seem to enjoy the first few grades as it is a novelty to them, and they do not have to work so hard at home. This enjoyment is despite their language problem as most come to school

for the first time without knowing any English, even though their parents might have been in America for a number of years. Only one family in the Turkish village assisted the children in speaking English.

As they grow older, their fondness for school wanes because of such problems as friction with teachers. Some teachers are quite understanding, while others show animosity towards Old Believer children. One principal said he would not even put them in one teacher's class as he knew she was prejudiced against them. Also, some children who earn ten dollars or fifteen dollars a day in the fields in summer feel a great deal more mature than they are treated in class.

Moreover, they reject school because of harassment and ridicule by American children. They are continually embroiled in fights, prompted by such name-calling as "stinking Russians."

Some children are depressed about school since their lack of English language proficiency causes them to be left behind, two or three years. Others who arrive from Brazil are placed in the lowest grade despite their age. Last year an improvement was made in one school by putting all the fourteen year old Russian children in one class. The other age groups were left in various grades. There are now also some Russian speaking teacher-assistants who give special help to Russian students.

Although the law in Oregon is for compulsory education until age eighteen, the teenagers are ready to leave school long before then. Many get married at fifteen or sixteen years and are thus, released from their obligation. But others at fourteen years want to work in a factory which is acceptable to the parents but against the law. Some are indeed working in factories, rather than going to school. One sixteen year old was the foreman of his father's farm while the father was at work in the factory. The boy was in charge of overseeing up to fifty workers in the fields. He stayed home in the spring and fall until the farm work was over. The general problem is that the Old Believers recognize adulthood much sooner than does the American culture.

Some of the young adults and older adults, who work in the daytime desire to learn English and, thus, go to evening school at Mount Angel College often despite opposition of their families. The school is taught by nuns and volunteers from the area. Instruction is on an individual basis geared to the level of each student for two hours twice a week. The enrollment is as high as thirty in the winter, but drops to about ten in the summer as most have to help in the family gardens during the summer evenings. Most of those who attend do come regularly. They read workbooks for American citizenship class written on an elementary level. Two students were involved in a special program, using cards to teach themselves how to read. Others begin without knowing a word of English.

Sometimes principles of American democracy are explained, history or geography or science. For example, this writer spent one frustrating evening trying to convince the Russian students that the world was round. It must be remembered that they have little progressed in their understanding of science, since they have been in cultural isolation

for hundreds of years. For example, they still believe that the earth is the center of the universe. Also, it was impossible to convince the Russians that man had actually landed on the moon, even though the news media was filled with the event at the time. They believed it all to be "propaganda" or simulation.

Adult education is difficult for many since it is the first time some of the women have ever learned to read or write a language. They are a little embarrassed about the whole procedure, while others read and write church slavonic, Turkish, Chinese, Portuguese, and Russian, and, thus, understand the difficulties of learning to read and write a language.

The students generally take their work seriously while they are there and work steadily at the lesson, but for many there is no practice outside of class, due in part to lack of materials in the home. Some parents even consider such materials as sinful. Others read on their own. One young woman even bought romance novels to read at home, even though prohibited by her father. Finally, he even stopped her from attending school but she still studies on her own. She says that if she ever leaves the colony, she will go to night school and get a better job than her present position as sewer of flour sacks. She also said that "if it weren't for my religion, I would have become an actress."

One girl attended school regularly until she decided to run away to New Jersey to be married. Then she decided that there was no reason to learn to read and write. Usually, education of the women stops when they get married as they soon have children and don't have time. Some quit school to embroider all winter for their trousseau in preparation for marriage.

Only one Old Believer person in the Russian community has achieved a high school diploma since the Russians came to this country. She worked at Mount Angel Elementary School as a teaching assistant during the day and went to school in the evening, although her parents were strongly against it. They used to lock her out of the house every night because she was going to night school and gave her a blanket and pillow and place to sleep in the attic. She tried to make financial plans to continue her college education through the Upward Bound program, but received a bad impression of the representatives who talked to her in hip language and became so disillusioned about educated people that she did not continue her education.

One principal suggested that the Russians set up their own school system similar to the Amish. Then they could have their own holidays and teach the subjects in line with their own religious beliefs. The Russians do not feel that they have anyone qualified to teach English language courses.

In conclusion, religious education is thought of as important and is encouraged and supported. In fact, the standard of religious education is remarkably high among adult males for such a peasant community. Secular education, however, is not thought of as important and is little

encouraged. They do recognize that public education is the main instrument of acculturation of the young, but conceive of it rather in terms of exposure to the sinful practices of the outside world.

Legal Problems:

The Turkish Old Believers came to the United States on parolee status, and after five years they had to decide whether they wanted to stay in the United States or return. Somehow Tolstoy Foundation got permanent residency cards for most of the Old Believers in New Jersey, but there are about thirty without cards who have been here for six years. Some of these people have been applying for their permanent residency card without any luck and are becoming concerned about their status as they are still on tourist visas. In addition, the immigration laws have changed since they entered the country, making it more difficult to get permanent residency. Fewer occupational categories are listed as desirable for permanent residents. The unskilled Old Believers have difficulty meeting the remaining categories. When they went to the Immigration Bureau for help, they were told that only Tolstoy Foundation could help them, but it has not done so to date.

Many hope eventually to become citizens, but with language problems and reluctance toward secular education, that hope seems a long way off for them. Many children have been born since they have come to this country and are automatically American citizens. The Brazilians were stateless refugees and received their permanent residency cards without any trouble.

They also need help in filling out legal forms. For example, one family asked this writer to help fill out birth certificate information. Even when the children can read English, the bureaucratic jargon is incomprehensible to them. They also need translation help in filling out driver's license forms, building permits, income tax, medical forms, etc.

The legalities of buying and owning land presents a great many problems for the Old Believers. Zoning regulations were changed without notice to the Old Believers, restricting the building of houses to one house every twenty acres after the Old Believers had already divided and built on half acre plots in their village. They had to go to the zoning board for a waiver, after having paid legal fees.

When the Old Believers first arrived, they were reportedly wild drivers and had many arrests with stiff penalties to help correct the driving problems. Driving while intoxicated and without a license was the second most prevalent problem. Even one fatal accident was reported. Several young girls known to this writer had smashed up their first cars and were now driving their second without having gained much caution.

The Brazilians especially had problems adjusting to American sanitation laws with the proper disposal of garbage, letting it accumulate in the yard. Now they have conformed, and the Turkish village, especially, is a model of neatness with each family bringing out its carefully covered trash on collection day.

The Old Believers have had harassment by ruffians since they moved to Oregon. In one incident a stone was thrown through a window and almost killed a two month old baby. A woman also suffered a miscarriage after another rock was thrown through a window. Cars of youngsters screeched tires, honked horns and threw beer bottles on the Old Believers private street during their night services. One woman was hit in the face by a beer bottle as she walked down a public highway on her way to church one night. Every Saturday night kids parked in her driveway and she was afraid to leave the house for church. Cars loaded with boys frequently yell at the Old Believers calling them "stinking Russians" and threatening to bother them until they left the country.

When they call the police from one of the few phones in the village, they either fail to respond as the village is outside city limits, or appear too late for any action to be taken. Even when the Old Believers have supplied license numbers or could identify individuals by sight, no action was taken. This writer attended a hearing of the Human Relations Board meeting in Salem on the problem at which several Old Believers recounted such incidents. Several of the board members responded quite vigorously and requested the Sheriff who was present to perhaps make a stake out of the village. They also decided to contact business and education leaders in Woodburn to attempt to educate the community. Moreover, they considered a series of articles in the local paper for the same end. They were also going to speak to the Old Believer men to explain how to get rapid police assistance.

Prejudice among other members of the community toward the Old Believers, is evident. The Mexicans are the most obviously prejudiced against the Old Believers, and the Old Believers are equally as prejudiced against the Mexicans, although the Mexicans are more aggressive and usually carry knives. One Old Believer was followed home by Mexicans and stabbed when he got out of his car. The Mexicans also threaten the Russian children if they go to the movie or frequent the park. When they work in the same field, they always work in separate rows, but do not fight since time would be a waste of money and they could be kicked out of the field.

Prejudice appears among other members of the local community, also, who are largely ignorant of the Old Believer values. They think the Old Believers are communists when in actuality they abhor the atheism of communism. Rumors are spread that they received government support or welfare when it is not true. It was observed by this writer that her American neighbors were very suspicious and upset when Old Believers visited her apartment. Even a Russian American who assisted them in translation matters claimed they smelled "offensive" and were not clean enough to come into his house. Some girls reported slights against them by their fellow workers in the sewing factories. Some have been railed at on the street by American youth.

VII. CONCLUSIONS: AREAS OF CULTURE CONTACT AND CHANGE

It is important to redefine the term "acculturation" as used in this study. By "acculturation" is meant "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups." (Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits 1936:149). The acculturation process involves several different types of contact between people which eventually leads to cultural interchange. In regard to the Old Believers, all three types of contact are relevant. The first type of contact involves groups of different population sizes. In this study, the American culture has the larger population. The second type of contact involves groups of unequal degrees of complexity in material or non-material aspects of the culture or both. In these two areas of culture the Americans and Old Believers differ. The American culture exemplifies the complicated industrialized society of the twentieth century while the Old Believers are rooted in seventeenth century traditions. In non-material aspects, the American culture values individualism, change, education and secular pursuits with often little or no emphasis on religion. On the other hand, loyalty to the family and the group results in a strong conservative force against change of any kind, especially in secular matters among the Old Believers. The third type of contact occurs when the receiving group, in this case the Old Believers, achieves its contact with the new culture, the American, in a new habitat, the United States.

The most interesting problem has been to discover what were the changes in the value orientations of the Old Believers as a result of their contact with the American culture during their acculturation in the United States. It is much easier for a group to accept material objects of the new culture, rather than alter their values which tend to change more slowly than other aspects of society. It is also easier to study the external, tangible objects of change instead of such intangibles as values.

The following is a description of what happened when two cultures collided in acculturation, such as the Old Believer with the American. First there was a period of disequilibrium which led to a withdrawal by the Old Believers from conflict by migration and an eventual return to equilibrium within their own culture. When the Old Believers first arrived in the United States, they were forced to conform to the American culture. They did not have any chance to reject or accept new values willingly, and their own values were threatened, thereby creating a period of disequilibrium. To reassert their values and attain a feeling of equilibrium, the Old Believers withdrew from the American culture by migrating to Oregon where they set themselves up as a separate colony. There they restored their original values and felt freer to accept those values from the American culture which fit most easily with their cultural pattern and also maintained the equilibrium of the group. Further fears of losing their religion and culture has led some of the Brazilian Old Believers to another withdrawal to more remote and isolated areas in Canada and Alaska.

Some reasons for the Old Believer resistance to cultural change can be attributed to their strong adherence to their religion.

The Old Believers have resisted change whether in religion or other areas as religion has sanctified their way of life. Religion has always dominated their lives and led them to regard the rest of the world as corrupt while ascribing to its leaders the role of anti-Christ. They have been physically mobile, especially when their religion or life style has been threatened.

Religion:

The area in which old values would be expected to be retained is most obvious in religion. The Old Believers choose to remain separate mainly in religion and group identity like the Jews in Cochin India in the eleventh century (Kroeber 1923 Chap. 9).

One of the ways the Old Believers have retained their in-group identity and limited participation to in-group members is through their religion which acts as a barrier to aliens and a symbol to which the Old Believers must conform if they are to remain in the group. Knowledge of certain religious customs known only to the group members acts as a shield or boundary from outsiders. Examples of in-group boundaries or "boundary-maintaining mechanisms" used by the Old Believers are: ritual initiations into the group such as baptism; cleansing ceremonies to reintroduce an in-group member into his society after absence takes place in the form of a prayer said over the person by the elder; territorial isolation, such as the Turkish village; self-defining concepts, such as the Old Believer xenophobia and ethnocentrism as a religious group; and their high regard for their native language and dress (Broom, Siegel, Vogt and Watson in Bohannon and Plog 1967:259). These "boundary maintaining mechanisms" help to keep the Old Believers a distinct minority in the American culture. As they are slowly being challenged by the American culture, group disequilibrium and resistance to change result. Some of the in-group members break away from the religious value or are caught between their desire to enjoy certain aspects of American life and the religious prohibitions against them.

Economics:

In other areas outside of religion, such as in economics, the Old Believers have acculturated the most. Like the Winnebago, Fox and Shawnee, the Old Believers have accepted the tangibles and economics of the American culture (Kroeber 1923: Chap. 9). Economic pressures send the Old Believers out into the world as wage earning competitors exposing themselves to many American ideas. Religious values are threatened by economic pressures to work even on religious holidays. American products are more and more a lure to the people, especially such as T.V. which some already secretly have. Their standard of living is higher than in their other experiences, but also their new found prosperity conflicts sharply with the simpler times and religious life they had in Turkey and other places. Their greater financial security has weakened ties among family members who were once very much dependent upon the help of one another. Originally it was the plan of most to

become farmers, but now the men are finding factory work more desirable because of the steady income, easier work, higher salary and independence from erratic weather conditions. This change in occupation by many has resulted in a cleavage between the older generation which favors farming and the young who prefer factory work. The desire of individuals to attain different occupational levels in a "closed" society also disrupts the established values and goals of the group.

Education:

Some of the Old Believers want to continue school and get better jobs, but the group places limitations on the occupational choices of its members by not favoring secular, public education; thereby any position requiring a high school diploma or the professions are closed to them. When the individual realizes that he cannot fully participate in our complex society as a result of his lack of training a period of disillusionment ensues. The Old Believers may be acculturated externally and able to take advantage of our high standard of living, but his group has not modified or permitted the integration of Old Believer educational values with the Americans, and thus, he cannot make the proper psychological adjustment to our culture.

Social Patterns:

The children are the ones who are caught in the middle of the conflict between the old and new ways and feel the pressures most strongly. They are among the first ones to accept the ways of the American culture and reject their own. In rejecting some of the customs and traditions of their own culture, inevitably they deny their religion; thus, they are left in a value vacuum. The old values have not been replaced by substantial new values; instead, those Old Believers who have acculturated the most have adopted a materialistic standard and an imitation of some of the worst of American culture. At this stage of the acculturation process, they usually face loneliness and disillusionment with the American culture realizing that it will be almost impossible for them to make it outside of the group. Some completely abandon the old for the new and break away from the colony while others return to the community after failing to adjust to life outside the group. If a person really wants to acculturate to the American culture, he has to leave the colony, but if he stays in the group, he has to conform to the traditional values and customs.

Others leave the colony temporarily or permanently because they cannot cope with the disequilibrium of living in two conflicting cultures or are tired of all the ritual, tedium of work and prohibitions against amusements. The young are casting aside their group security and obligations for their right to be independent.

The American influence of customs, especially on the young is divisive of the family. The bilingualism and greater familiarity with the American culture of the young contrasts with the ignorance of English on the part of the adults and results in a revision of the family structure and cleavage between the young and the old. Children are suddenly occupying a superior position in the family, upsetting the equilibrium

of the family and reducing the authority of the adults over the young. The bridge between the generations is becoming increasingly wider as the old try to hold on to a way of life which the young have already begun to reject. This break in strong family relationships due to the lack of understanding between parents and children seriously endangers the retention of Old Believer values.

The exodus to Canada and Alaska may be the only chance for these people to retain their cultural identity. If all the Brazilians move to Canada and Alaska, where they will live in isolated conditions, the pressures toward acculturation will be less. But it will be difficult to satisfy the young after they have experienced so many aspects of American culture. The Turkish group, however, appears to be more settled and will probably stay in Oregon and, thus, be open to more assimilation pressures from the surrounding community. But if the group feels they are losing a great number of young, they too will move to more isolated conditions. Those left in Oregon will resist change as best they can, but are unlikely to be able to hold out for another generation due to the acculturation pressures, especially through public education. The education system is the most potent agent of change. It teaches the American way of life to the pliable young and conflicts with the religious holidays of the group. If the Old Believers are not able to retain their religion then the cohesiveness and group-identity of the people will collapse.

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Alagoz, Silvestira
Avgi, Hirisa, Varvara and family
Ayhan, Ivan, Vera and family
Ayhan, Mr. & Mrs.
Becere, Timofil, Maria
Boru, Fioska and family
Boru, Mr. & Mrs. and family
Cam, Pirfil, Ellena
Cam, Ponfin, Fiyonisia and family
Cam, Yovarhi, Natastutka and family
Can, Arhip, Eudokia and family
Effimoff, Fetina
Goktas, Ahey, Istifanda
Goktas, Fidat, Dunya and family
Kamish, Fidor, Natalie and family
Kamish, Yaki, wife and family
Karayel, Foti, Arina and family
Kaya, Astafi, Anisiya and family
Kirilokov, Mr. & Mrs. and family
Kutzeff, Natalia
Kuzmin, Mr. & Mrs. and family
Martashev, Mr. & Mrs. and family
Oral, Mrs. and family
Pulufera, Mr. & Mrs.
Toran, Ibrim, Ahabiya and family
Toran, Timofey, Mrs. and family
Yakis, Vassily, Arina and family
Yakis, Mr. & Mrs. and family
Zharkov, Sava, Nardezhda
Zharkov, Mr. & Mrs. and family
and other Old Believers

Others:

Anderson, Donald, school principal
Allis, Mrs., teacher
Bagdanoff, Miss, Russian American
Braun, Mr., Russian American
Brother Ambrose. Russian American Catholic monk
Chamber of Commerce
Citizens of Woodburn, Oregon
Employers of Old Believers
Father Nicholas Sanin, Russian American Orthodox priest
Father Theodore, Catholic priest
Hall, Roberta
Human Relations Commission Members
Librarian, Woodburn Library
McDonald, Robert

Neighbors of Old Believers
Public Health Nurses
Public Officials
Shaack, Mabel, teacher
School administrators and teachers
Social workers
Store keepers
Various farmers